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Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

THE HON. PANDIT
MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

HIS LIFE AND SPEECHES

SECOND EDITION.

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PREFACE

ACCORDING to Carlyle, history is a series of biographies. This is pre-eminently true of the history of the patriotic movement in India. Indeed, that movement has as yet no history apart from the careers of India's patriotic sons. This is a time of popular education, of national awakening. The people are not yet as a people educated, the nation as such has not yet awakened, some would say, is not even born yet. However this may be, there is no doubt that sooner or later—sooner rather than later—there will be a sense of national unity among the inhabitants of this land, which will make its future history in many ways different from, though not altogether a contrast to, its past. Among the men who in their day and generation have laboured and are labouring to bring about the fulfilment of the past in the future and the birth of a future greater and more glorious than was ever dreamt of, not the least distinguished is the man whose spoken words are treasured in this volume. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's speeches are not mere speeches. They are the fruit and the flower of a soul deeply rooted in a sense of the eternal verities of life, of a character distinguished by simplicity and self-control, of an intellect given to an honest study of facts and an impartial and fair-minded presentation of them. It has been said that it is the character behind that makes a speech weighty or otherwise. No one can read the speeches herein embodied in print without feeling that their "specific

PREFACE

gravity" is far from inconsiderable. It seems a happy coincidence that at the time when the publishers undertook the publication of his speeches, Mr. Malaviya was summoned by the united suffrages of the Indian people to occupy the exalted position of the presidentship of the non-official parliament of the nation. Again, when bringing out the second edition of his speeches, they have the immense gratification of seeing him occupy an unique position in the country. The nation has shown its trust in the political sagacity and leadership of Mr. Malaviya by electing him to preside over the National Congress for a second time to guide it along right channels and to create harmony and good will between the different sections of Indian political thought so that India may not lose the opportunity of getting her proper place in the coming reconstruction of the world. Thus the publishers are convinced that they are supplying the Indian reading public with a record of activity exercised on behalf of the country, which will serve to infuse moral seriousness, honest study, and strenuous endeavour into the lives, both private and public, of all who seek to take part in India's public life.

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THE HONOURABLE PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

One adequate support

*For the calamities of mortal life
Exists—one only : an assured belief
That the procession of our fate howe'er
Sad or disturbed is ordered by a Being
Of infinite benevolence and power,
Whose ever-lasting purposes embrace
All accidents, converting them to good.*

WORDSWORTH.

The Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, comes of an orthodox and respected family of Brahmans who originally belonged to Malwa. One of his ancestors migrated from Malwa for Allahabad nearly four hundred years ago. The Family has produced renowned Sanskrit scholars and authors for the last several generations. Pandit Braj Nath, the father of the subject of this sketch who passed away only a few years ago at a ripe old age, leaving several sons and daughters, was one of the best scholars of his time. He was a reputed preacher whose popular exposition of the *Srimat Bhagvat* and other *Puranas* was much appreciated by high and low alike. And such princes as the late Maharajah of Durbhanga and the late Maharajah of Benares were among those who paid reverence to him and regarded him as almost a *guru* for his learning and

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piety. He produced several notable devotional works in Sanskrit, some of which have lately been published by his dutiful son. The family was never in affluent circumstances and it was at no small sacrifice that Pandit Braj Nath educated his several children. And it was his good fortune to live to see the fruits of his self-abnegation in the career of at least one of his sons.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is his father's third son. He was born in his ancestral house at Allahabad on the 25th December, 1861, and it was at his forty-eighth year that he assumed the distinguished office of President of India's non-official Parliament. Born and bred up at Allahabad, Pandit Madan Mohan's love of and devotion to his native city has never known any bounds.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya received his education first in two Sanskrit Pathashalas—the Dharma Jnanopadesh Pathashala and next the Vidya Dharma Vardhini Sabha, and later sent to an English School. He passed his Entrance Examination from the Allahabad zilla School and then joined the Muir Central college. As a student he began to take a warm interest in public questions, religion and education being his favourite themes. And to this day the two spheres of national life to which he is most drawn are religion and education. He was among the founders of the Allahabad Literary Institute and of the Hindu Samaj. Pandit Madan Mohan's career as a student was not a particularly brilliant one. He passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University (there was then no Allahabad University) in 1879, and F.A. in 1881, and he graduated

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in 1884. It was not till seven years later that he became an LL.B. ; while he discontinued his studies sometime after he had joined the M.A. class without waiting to take the degree.

Not being well to do enough to remain a student after he became a B.A., Pandit Madan Mohan took up the post of an Assistant Master in the Government High School at Allahabad towards the end of 1884. He remained in the position till about the middle of 1887 on a salary of between Rs. 50 and Rs. 75, and it is interesting to recall that among his students was his distinguished townsman Dr. Satish Chandra Banerjee, though for a brief period only. Another noteworthy fact which may be recalled with interest in these days of strict prohibitions and rigid discipline is that his being a Government servant did not stand in the way of his participation in political movements ; why, he spoke at the Congress itself while a Government official, and his *guru*, Pandit Adityaram, always an independent man, was also a delegate to the Calcutta Congress of 1886, though he was at that time Professor in the Muir Central College. Those seem to have been days of mild rule indeed.

Work in connection with the National Congress, of which more presently, brought, Madan Mohan in contact with the late Rajah Rampal Singh of Kala-Kankar, who was proprietor of the paper called the *Hindustan*, and on the Rajah who had always a kindly feeling for the Pandit, offering him the editorship of the paper. Mr. Malaviya relinquished the teachership for the place of editor and joined his new post in the middle of 1887, though

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reluctantly for he really regarded the profession of teacher as a sacred one and he at last gave it up only because he believes that journalism is only another form of educational work. He remained editor of the *Hindustan* for two years and a half, his salary being Rs. 200. He conducted the paper with marked ability and moderation, so much so that an acknowledgment was made of its public usefulness in the Government, Administration Report itself. Pandit Madan Mohan's direct connection with journalism did not stop on his giving up the editorship of the *Hindustan*. He became editor of the *Indian Union*, an independent organ of Indian opinion with which the honoured name of Pandit Ajoodhia Nath was associated, and did not a little for that, paper in collaboration with the esteemed townsman, Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave. His connection with *Indian Union* was kept up though not exactly as editor, till its incorporation with the *Advocate* of Lucknow. Babu Brahmanda Sinha at present Secretary of the Upper India Couper Paper Mill of Lucknow, was the editor of the *Indian Union* in its later stages. Pandit Madan Mohan's interest in journalism and faith in the Press as a powerful factor in the formation of public opinion and in influencing the course of administration have not abated in the course of years. Only some years ago he felt so much the evil to the community at large and to the rising generation in particular, of the onrush of ideas paraded as advanced but really suicidal to progress of the country, which a section of the Press has taken to propagate with less wisdom than energy, that he started the weekly Hindi paper the *Abhyudaya* and laboured hard to make it inform-

ing and instructive by himself contributing numerous articles to its columns. The *Abhyudaya* has made an excellent progress since it was started and has done a deal of public service, but its proprietor has been out of pocket to a considerable time on its account. It is intended to extend its usefulness by issuing it twice a week, and it is to be hoped that the biweekly *Abhyudaya* may soon be an accomplished fact. How keenly Pandit Madan Mohan felt the need of an "English Daily" at Allahabad to voice the opinions and ventilate the grievances of the people of the Provinces, and how zealously he worked to bring the *Leader* into existence, are facts too recent and too well-known to need stating at length.

While he was conducting the *Hindustan* he was pressed by men for whom he had the highest regard and who took a warm personal interest in the young man's rise, to qualify himself for the Bar. Among these were Mr. A. O. Hume of whom Pandit Madan Mohan was a great favourite and at whose feet it is his pride to have sat. The late Pandit Ajoodhia Nath, the late Rajah Rampal Singh and Pandit Sunder Lal, who then was a great friend of his. Pandit Madan Mohan himself was reluctant to a degree to become a pleader. The bent of his mind was for public work particularly in the fields of religion and education—and money-making as such had no attraction for him. But he was prevailed upon to overcome his unwillingness to become a lawyer, and he accordingly joined the law classes when he was editing the *Hindustan*. He took his LL B., degree in 1891 and joined the High Court in 1893. Pandit

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Ajoodhia Nath once complained to Mr. Hume that since he had taken to the study of law, Pandit Madan Mohan's interest in Congress work rather slackened. "Quite right," said the old man with fatherly solicitude, "he must concentrate all his attention on law." And turning to Pandit Madan Mohan, Mr. Hume spoke somewhat as follows :— "Madan Mohan, God has endowed you with plenty of brains. Slave at the profession for ten years and you are bound to get to the top. Then your public usefulness will increase greatly owing to the position you will attain, and you can do much for the country." This piece of advice was never acted upon. The claims to various public works had always the lion's share of his time and attention, and though he has risen creditably high in the profession and is recognised as a skilled and successful Advocate he has never reached the first two or three places at the bar. This is entirely owing to his neglect of opportunities which came to him unsought. "Malaviya had the ball at his feet," one of the Indian leaders of the local bar said once, "but he refused to kick it."

We have said that even as a student Pandit Madan Mohan began to take an active interest in the public affairs of his country. The Allahabad Literary Institute served as his training ground. He found the Hindu Samaj, with others and was one of its most active members. Politics, too, were not left alone.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya joined the Indian National Congress in 1886 when its second session was held at Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. Dadabhai

Naoroji. Suddenly in the course of the proceedings when he heard other men speak, the feeling came to him that he might speak also, and encouraged by Pandit Adityaram, he made his first attempt. The man and the speech alike produced a favourable impression, and this is how Mr. Hume spoke of them in the Introduction to the Report of that year's Congress—one of those masterly essays by the way which we so much miss in Congress Reports of latter years:—"But perhaps the speech that was most enthusiastically received was one made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a high caste Brahman, whose fair complexion and delicately chiselled features, instinct with intellectuality, at once impressed every eye, and who suddenly jumping upon a chair beside the President poured forth a manifestly imprompt speech with an energy and eloquence that carried everything before them." The speech was on "Legislative Council Reform"—and, one sentence at least of the speech, deserves to live. "No taxation without representation. That is the first commandment in the Englishman's political Bible." He spoke on the same subject at the Madras Congress of the next year, and the effort was equally successful. It called forth compliments from such men as Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, Dewan Bahadur R. Ragunath Rao and Mr. Eardley Norton, while Mr. Hume wrote as follows in his introduction to the Report. "Then rose Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a very young and enthusiastic labourer in the cause, and from his speech we feel bound to extract largely ; partly because though over-fervid in expression towards its close it embodies truths that

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merit careful consideration." At once he became a favourite on the Congress platform and steadily rose in importance not only by his power of speech and contribution to debate,—which won for him compliments from such men as Mr. (now sir) Charles Schwan, the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, the late Mr. Caine and the late Mr. Digby—but by the earnest and untiring work he did throughout the year to advance the Congress. In 1887, some months before the Congress met at Madras, Mr. Hume wrote to say that he was hopeful of a large muster of delegates from every province ; he was only doubtful of the North-West Provinces, and expressed the hope that some one might rouse the people to a sense of their duty. The hint was at once taken up by Pandit Madan Mohan ; he could not brook the idea of the representative character of the Congress suffering by the remissness of his native province, and not well circumstanced as he was, he at once went on a tour in the province and worked at city after city amid environments by no means encouraging. And it was a tribute to his capacity for breathing enthusiasm into people that no fewer than 45 delegates came to distant Madras in that year, a number not equalled at any succeeding Madras Session. He also at the same time became at the instance of Mr. Hume, Secretary of the N. W. P. Association and of the standing Congress Committee, and remained such for many years. Mr. Hume was eager that after Madras, Allahabad should hold the Congress and it was to Pandit Madan Mohan he turned to take up the idea to invite the Congress and hold a successful session. The Congress of

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1888 still remains perhaps the most interesting yet held. Pandit Ajoodhia Nath had not joined the Reception Committee at first, though Pandit Bishambar Nath did, but after he came in, he contributed very largely to the success of its work as every one remembers with gratitude. The working Secretary was Pandit Madan Mohan, and among other men who laboured must be mentioned Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Charan Das and Babu Charoo Chandra Mitra. Again when the Congress was invited to hold its eighth session at Allahabad, in 1892, the grievous calamity of the death of Pandit Ajoodhia Nath discouraged the people and many suggestions were made that the Joint General Secretary. Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, should be informed that the Congress could not be held here ; but there were a few stalwarts, for foremost among them Pandit Madan Mohan who would not listen to counsels of despair. And with Pandit Bishambar Nath, the unfailing old leader and sagacious counsellor at their head, the workers in the cause here held successful session that year at Allahabad. He presided over the United Province's Conference at Lucknow in 1908, and his election as President of the Parent movement itself in the year 1909, came fittingly and in the fulness of time.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya became a member of the Allahabad Municipal Board many years ago, and was its Vice-Chairman on one or two occasions. He was elected a Fellow of the University fifteen years ago and succeeded Pandit Bishambar Nath as a member of the Legislative Council in 1902 when the latter retired owing to increasing age. Ever since he has been a member. In the Council

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he has distinguished himself by the display of combined moderation and ability, spirit of independence as well as sense of responsibility. His speeches on the Bundelkhand Land Alienation Bill and the Excise Bill and on the annual financial statements bring into relief the aforesaid qualities in him and mark him out unmistakably from the other members. He has had to work at considerable disadvantage being almost alone to espouse popular opinions, but in the new Council he will have some of his fellow-workers as his colleagues to share his labours—notably the Honourable Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and the Honourable Babu Ganga Prasad Varma. Pandit Madan Mohan gave valuable evidence before the Decentralisation Commission, the most important parts of his statement dealing with the constitution of provincial Governments and financial decentralisation. It is not a matter of surprise that after this career of usefulness for his motherland and with a clear knowledge of the diverse economical problems of India which have all along been engaging his attention, he should have become a member of the Imperial Legislative Council of which he can rightly claim to be a factor in view of his high attainments and extraordinary abilities.

Pandit Madan Mohan took up the question of Court character in the province and worked hard at the matter for rather more than three years. The complaint which he brought out on this subject was exhaustive of its kind and may be said to have gone a long way to bring about the famous resolution of Sir Antony Mac Donnell's Government, which for several years after its issue formed the

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subject of so much controversy and gave rise to a feeling of unjust bitterness in the mind of the Mohamedan community. After all it was a very moderate recognition of the claims of the Nagari character on the part of the Government.

Pandit Madan Mohan has evinced the deepest interest in the welfare of the student population and in order to relieve them of hardship in finding suitable quarters at Allahabad whither they come in large numbers from their native places in the mofussil, he initiated in conjunction with the Honourable Pandit Sunder Lal, the movement in honour of Sir Antony MacDonnell which is concretised in the Hindu Boarding House. Pandit Madan Mohan, at the sacrifice of his steadily increasing professional work which he could ill-afford to do, travelled long and far at his own expense to raise funds for the Boarding House and he has the satisfaction of seeing it to-day in a flourishing condition and serving the purpose for which it was intended, very well indeed. The building itself, which was opened by Sir Antony MacDonnell's successor, Sir James La Touche, is one of the few handsome structures of Allahabad. His interest in educational matters led to his appointment as a member of the School Committee of which the late Mr. Roberts was Chairman, and it is known what part he took in the deliberations of the Committee.

We have referred more than once to Pandit Madan Mohan's zeal in religious matters. It is one of the settled convictions of his life that religion is at the foundation of all greatness and goodness, and that without an abiding

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religious faith no affair of man can succeed. He believes in ritual and most of the ideas and practices of orthodox Brahmans and hopefully looks forward to a religious revival in the country. He wants religious instruction to be imparted in school and has himself compiled text books which he hopes may be found suitable. He was the originator and the life and soul of the Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha held at Allahabad in January 1906, and it is no secret what expenditure of time, labour and money was borne by him to make the Sabha a success.

It is the combination of religious faith and zeal for the spread of sound education that will make a man really healthy, wealthy and wise which led him to prepare his comprehensive scheme for the establishment of a Hindu University (Bharatiya Viswa Vidyalaya) at Benares. It is not to be expected that there can be unanimity of opinion in regard to a complicated scheme of that description and even among those who are on the whole of his way of thinking there is naturally considerable misgiving about the ultimate success of so costly an undertaking. But Pandit Madan Mohan's faith is large and whoever may doubt and falter, he does not lose heart. Hope eternal burns in him like a sacred pillar of fire. In the language of a friend he is inspired by something of "holy madness" for realization of the University project and it is not impossible that one of these days its beginning at least may become a fact since accomplished gloriously. It is well-known in the circle of his friends that ever since he put forward this scheme "where scientific, technical and industrial educa-

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tion is to be combined, with religious instruction and classical culture," he has been anxious to retire from his profession and dedicate himself to service for its realisation ; so ardently he believes that that will be the greatest means of the improvement of the condition of his country. And it is believed—we may perhaps say feared—his circumstances are such—among those who know that now that his son Pandit Ramakanta Malaviya has joined the High Court he contemplates to retire from his profession.

Pandit Madan Mohan has been an ardent champion of the Swadeshi movement for the last thirty years. So far back as 1881 a Deshi Tijarat company was started at Allahabad to promote the use of indigenous manufacturers, and Pandit Madan Mohan was one of the prominent supporters of the company. And all these three decades he has consistently advocated the use of Swadeshi things wherever they can be had, even if they are coarser and dearer than foreign manufacture citing the example of other countries which have preserved or promoted their industries by a similar policy. Without being a boycotter he has always regarded it as part of his religious duty to purchase country-made goods in preference to foreign ones even at sacrifice because by that means he would probably be the means of finding food for some humble countrymen of his who might otherwise remain hungry. Recently his interest in the industrial movement has increased. He is among those who helped in bringing into existence the Indian Industrial Conference at Benares in 1905, and the United Provinces Industrial Conference and the United Provinces

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Industrial Association at Allahabad in 1907, and he has taken an active part in the deliberations of these bodies. His interest in technical education is keen and one of the attractions of his scheme of a University at Benares is that higher technical education is to be a most important feature of the University. He was member of the Naini Tal Industrial Conference held by Sir John Hewett's Government in 1907 ; and he had no small share in starting the Prayag Sugar Company Limited, which is the direct fruit of the First U. P. Industrial Conference.

In private life Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a very charitable man. There is no great benefaction which can be mentioned to his credit, but there are unnumbered small acts of kindness to the needy which in reality reveal a man's secret springs of action. He is deeply interested in social and philanthropic work and is never happier than when engaged in relieving some human misery.

"The drying of a single tear has more
Of honest fame than shedding seas of gore,"

said Byron. When plague first broke out in Allahabad the Collector, Mr. Ferard, C.I.E., who has always been a popular officer, asked Pandit Madan Mohan, who was a Vice-Chairman of the Municipal Board, to help in taking steps to prevent the disease from spreading. He did so cheerfully. For over a fortnight he personally superintended the disinfection of a dark lane in a *mandi* where it had broken out and where deaths had occurred in almost every house. His example was followed by his fellow-

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Commissioners when the disease spread to other parts of the city. He then initiated the movement the establishment of a health camp in Sohbatia Bakh in which about 1900 families found absolute protection from plague. Mr. Malaviya used to attend the camp both morning and evening in the first year. He also used to go to see the plague hospital and encouraged people to go there. In the following year the health camp became so popular that at one time nearly 3,000 persons were living in perfect safety there.

In the Legislative Council he has earnestly urged the Government to encourage the building of model *bustees* by Government, and the establishment of Lukerganj with its excellent rows of houses is part at least the result of his advocacy. He has also been urging for years the opening up of congested areas in the larger cities of the province which is being carried out now in Allahabad and Cawnpore. Pandit Madan Mohan was a member of the Sanitary Conference held at Naini Tal by the Local Government. The idea of the establishment of a Hindu University at Benares for which the Pandit has been incessantly labouring has become an almost accomplished fact. The foundation stone for the University building was laid by Lord Hardinge amidst circumstances of the most unparalleled pomp and enthusiasm in the presence of the ruling princes and nobles of the country. In his splendid speech to the assembled magnates, the Ex-Viceroy referred in glowing terms to the untiring labours of the Pandit and the Maharaja of Durbungha to whom all India over a

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deep debt of gratitude for their great service in the national cause. Recent events have served to bring out to the public view the sterling qualities of the Pandit. The outbreak of the great European war brought in its train difficult and searching problems for India to face, thus affording an opportunity for true statesmanship to assert itself in this country. A level-headed statesman that the Pandit is, he knows how to co-operate with the Govt. when co-operation was beneficial and how to oppose when the country's interests demanded opposition. As a loyal subject of His Majesty, Mr. Malaviya agreed to the India's contribution of a 100 millions sterling for war. But when it was proposed to saddle India with another 45 millions, he protested against it as being beyond India's capacity to bear, while many of his compatriots silently voted for it. This was a severe test which the Pandit has so manfully stood, showing that he is not of that wavering politicians whose tongues would proclaim of patriotism while their heads would be devising means to please the powers that be. Again in the matter of the Montague-chelmsford reforms which has been thrown in as a veritable apple of discord, though styled a moderate of politicians Mr. Malaviya was not thrown off his balance like some of his moderate brethren who found in them the blessings of the promised land, but he took a correct estimate of their worth and declared that they were not worthy of acceptance unless modified in their most essential details. Though of dubious value, the reform scheme did not fail to create the inevitable split and some of the most prominent congress-

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man felt no compunction to desert in the most critical hour the banner under which they had been fighting for over 30 years. But Malaviya's true patriotism held aloft the drooping flag and though in spite of all his efforts he failed to bring back the recalcitrants to the national cause, his domineering personality at the Bombay congress made that special session an unqualified success. At present if there is over a man more than another who commands the respect of all the political parties, it is Malaviya and the nation which is still anxious to see all parties united has done the wisest thing in selecting him for the second time as President of the coming congress and we may confidently look to the rallying of the different parties under his sage guidance. We cannot close this brief sketch without expressing our genuine admiration for the masterly special minute that Mr. Malaviya as a member of the Industrial Commission has attached to the Report of the commission. The minute is a valuable document as it traces the history of the Industrial condition of India since its connection with England and puts forth practical suggestions how it could be improved. It seems a good augury for our country that at this psychological moment of its history it has the bold championship of a patriot like Malaviya and it is our sincere prayer that he may be spared for many years to come to further promote the welfare of India which he has at his heart.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS-TENTATIVE SUGGESTIONS

IN supporting the following resolution of the second Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1886 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

That this Congress is of opinion that in giving practical effect to this essential reform, regard should be had (subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question, may commend themselves to the Government) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions :—

(1) *The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Council to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials having seats ex-officio in such Councils and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.*

(2) *The right to elect Members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, prima facie capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay, the Councillors may be elected by the Members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the*

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Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University, or by electoral Colleges composed of Members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an electoral College composed of Members elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards and the right of electing Members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted, (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community and all great interests are adequately represented.

(3) *The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.*

(4) *No elected or nominated Member of any Council to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such Membership, but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during Membership, and all Members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their membership.*

(5) *All persons resident in India to be eligible for*

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seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.

(6) All legislative measures and all financial questions including all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with, by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration any Member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the ex-officio Members (or such one of these as may be especially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question together with copies of any paper requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question, and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that in the opinion of the Executive, the public interest would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the ex-officio Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly and decline to furnish the information asked for.

(7) The Executive Government shall possess the power of over-ruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which in its opinion the

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public interest would suffer by the acceptance of such decision ; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary, shall be published within one month and in the case of local Governments, they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State ; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the third Resolution of last year's Congress which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.

After the very able and eloquent speeches to which you have already listened, it may seem almost superfluous to add any thing as to the expediency, as to the necessity, of the reform contemplated in the fourth resolution. It seems, however, necessary to show to the Government and to the public at large that it is not only by the people of a certain limited portion of the country that the principle of representative government is understood and approved, but that in every presidency and province, of this vast Indian continent, the

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people equally appreciate it and are equally anxious for its introduction into the administration. Delegates from Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Patna, Fyzabad, Dera Ismail Khan, Dacca, have already endorsed this fact. Let me a humble delegate from Allahabad confirm their testimony. (*Cheers*) It is not to the great British Government that we need demonstrate the utility, the expediency, the necessity of this great reform. (*Cheers*). It might have been necessary to support our petition for this boon with such a demonstration were we governed by some despotic monarch, jealous of the duties, but ignorant and careless of the rights of subjects; but it is surely unnecessary to say one word in support of such a cause to the British Government or the British nation—to the descendants of those brave and great men who fought and died to obtain for themselves and preserve intact for their children those very institutions which, taught by their example, we now crave (*cheers*), who spent their whole lives and shed their hearts blood so freely in maintaining and developing this cherished principle. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

What is an Englishman without representative institutions? Why, not an Englishman at all (*cheers*), a mere sham (*cheers*), a base imitation (*cheers*), and I often wonder as I look round at our nominally English magnates how they have the face to call themselves

Englishmen and yet deny us representative institutions, and struggle to maintain despotic ones. (*Loud cheers.*) Representative institutions are as much a part of the true Briton as his language and his literature. Will any one tell me that Great Britain will, in cold blood, deny us, her freeborn subjects, the first of these when, by the gift of the two latter, she has qualified us to appreciate and incited us to desire it? (*Cheers*).

No taxation without representation. That is the first commandment in the Englishman's Political Bible; how can he palter with his conscience and tax us here, his free and educated fellow-subjects, as if we were dumb sheep or cattle? But we are not dumb any longer India has found a voice at last in this great Congress, and in it, and through it, we call on England to be true to her traditions, her instincts, and herself, and grant us our rights as freeborn British citizens. (*Prolonged cheering.*) Representation is a thing required in every part of the world, as soon as a nation emerges from barbarism, even where rulers and ruled are one people, having one common language, domicile, religion, literature, and what not, and how much more so is it needful in this country? We know that the English people, true to their higher instincts, have introduced here so much that is good, that to them we owe many and great blessings. (*Cheers*) We acknowledge these blessings with gratitude: we owe a heavy debt of

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gratitude to the English people, and there is no fear of our ever forgetting our obligations to them. (*Loud cheers.*) But while we are thus deeply grateful for the blessings we enjoy we cannot but feel that there are still many points in which our condition can be and ought to be improved, and we see first and foremost that the system of administration, that now obtains, is despotic (*loud cheers*), and is deficient in the principle of representation, the fundamental characteristic of a free government. (*Cheers.*) There is not a true-born Englishman who would not be horrified if told that the Government of India dealt with the whole people of India as slaves, and yet, if any such man will fairly face the facts of the case, he will be compelled to admit that, despite all other good gifts, in this matter of excluding us from all share in the government of our own country, the government is really treating us as mere slaves. The right to be represented is inherent in every educated free-born British subject. (*Loud cheers.*) Gentlemen, we all recognize the great Proclamation of 1858 as our Magna Charta, and in that Proclamation Her Gracious Majesty was pleased to assure us solemnly that she would regard all her subjects of whatever race, creed or colour with an equal eye, and consider the welfare of all equally. Her Majesty's Indian subjects were therefore to be regarded in the same light as her subjects in any of her other colonies and possessions. But how can

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it be said that we are treated in the same way when we are not allowed the slightest voice in the administration, (*Cheers*), when we are not allowed the opportunity of saying one word as to our sentiments in regard to the laws and edicts which year by year are flung forth over the land, and under which we have to live and suffer? (*Cheers*.) I ask you if that is regarding us with an equal eye, if that is treating us as those of the English race in other possessions of Her Majesty are treated? (*Cheers*.)

I am sorry that time does not allow me to speak fully and freely on this great subject, but after all in the present day it is almost a waste of time to prove either the reasonable character or the justice of our claim. Every cultured mind admits this, at any rate as an abstract proposition. It is always imaginary practical difficulties, or our supposed incapacity, that is urged. But when you see Indians competing with Englishmen in every walk of life to which they can find or force an entrance, and not unfrequently emerging triumphant from the friendly contest (*loud cheers*), it is extremely inconsistent to say that they are unfitted to assist in the consideration and preparation of laws for their own people, and incapable of joining in that great work of administration, which has, or should have, for its sole object the prosperity of their native land (*cheers*); and I ask every generous

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English mind to say whether we have not a strong ground for complaining against the exclusion as a piece of un-English injustice. Surely it is the desire of every generous hearted Englishman who loves liberty to confer the freedom, he himself enjoys, on all—

“For he,” as an English Poet says, “that values liberty confines

“ His zeal for her predominance within

“ No narrow bounds ; her cause engages him

“ Wherever pleaded. ‘Tis the cause of man.” (LOUD CHEERING).

But our President signs that I am exceeding the allotted period, and I will only add may the cause of the people of India, the cause of liberty and right, engage the attention, heart and soul, of every honest Englishman in India and in England and may each true Briton, who values the rights, the privileges, the freedom which have made him and his country what they are, aid us, like true Britons, to the fruition of our aspirations for equal rights, equal privileges and equal freedom. (*Loud cheers.*)

EXPANSION OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

In supporting the following resolution of the third Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1887 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

That this Congress re-affirms the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, and the provincial Legislative Councils, already set forth in Resolutions III of the Congress of 1885 and 1886, and expresses the earnest hope that the Government will no longer delay action in the direction of this essential reform.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, my heart beats high within me as I rise to speak on this great subject. You have listened to the weighty words of Sir T. Madhava Rao and the eloquent appeals of Babu Surendranath Banerjee and Mr. Eardley Norton and others, and if after such speakers as these I venture to address you, it is with the hope that you will grant me that indulgence which, being placed in this position, I earnestly crave of you. Gentlemen, after what has been said, it would be difficult to advance further arguments or to bring forward additional reasons as to the expediency and necessity for this great reform. But allow me to

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say this much, that, placed as we are in this country under a foreign Government, however benevolent and generous its motives—the motives of those who take part in the administration—we stand in the greatest need of our own representative in the Legislative Councils. Gentlemen, the whole of Europe, with the exception of Russia, has declared that the most efficient and best form of Government for any country which has made any advance in civilization is a Government, conducted not solely by the few of the many, but to a greater or less extent by the many for themselves—a Government, in fact in which the representatives of the people have some potential-share—and if this be expedient for European countries, where the rulers and the ruled are of the same nationality, and where they are of the same religion, I think it must be conceded that it is even more essential for India, which is inhabited by people whose habits, manners, customs, language race and creed differ from those of their rulers. If we demand for India that there should be representatives of her people in the state councils, we only ask for what, not simply Europe, but America, Australia, and almost the whole civilized world have declared with one unanimous voice to be essential for any Government that is to be suitable to any country, as it is only where the representatives of the people are allowed to take part in that administration that the

wants and wishes, the aspirations and grievances of the people can be adequately set forth, properly understood or duly provided for. That being so, gentlemen, I think there cannot possibly be two opinions on the point that the reform which we crave for from Government is one so essential for the well-being of this country that it should be conceded to us without the least avoidable delay. This is now the third time that we have thus been meeting at yearly intervals; we have come from every district, from the most distant portions of this Empire, and in many cases at the cost of great personal sacrifice. We have nothing personally to gain, no selfish aim to serve. We come together, chosen by our fellow-countrymen primarily to press upon Government the fact that the country stands badly in need of this reform, and that the entire nation prays for it. But, unhappily, Government has not yet listened, to our people's prayer!

What is it that we see year after year? People assembling from all parts of India,—from the Panjab, Sindh, Assam, Madras, Bengal, Bombay, N.W. Provinces, Oudh, the Central Provinces, from every province, from every town—coming together to implore Government humbly to grant this reform, which is after all their birth right as free born British subjects. (*Loud cheers.*) It is no desire or motive of self-ambition that brings these people together at such heavy cost and at such great

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personal inconvenience. There is no taint of self-interest in the matter. No. Their sole idea is that India, their country, of all things stands badly in need of this fundamental reform, and they hope—and God, grant that they may not hope in vain—that their unselfish persistence in asking may secure for their native land this great boon! I cannot possibly believe that there is one single educated Indian, who after studying this question can rest happy in his mind, without trying his very best to secure this reform. (*Applause.*) I cannot possibly believe that any good man who once really understands what this reform truly means for his country and his countrymen, for his kinsman, his children and himself, can remain indifferent to it. And, gentlemen, neither we nor any other intelligent Indians are indifferent to it; and though thus far success has not crowned our efforts, we must only go up to Government again and ask their earliest consideration of our demands or of our prayers (call them which you will) and entreat them again and again to concede to us this reform. Gentlemen, it is nothing very great we are asking them to do. The British Government has already made this concession to so many countries. So many colonies, so many British colonies, enjoy it. Canada, the Cape, the Australian colonies, innumerable smaller places, even the so-called crown colonies, except perhaps Fiji Islands, and some

purely military pests, all enjoy some measure, and most of them the fullest measure, of Representative Government. Britain has granted or conceded this concession to all these places. (*Applause*). Why should she withhold it from the people of India? (*Hear, hear.*) Does she think that we are less loyal than her subjects in other lands? (*Hear, hear, and applause*). Australia would break with her tomorrow if she ventured to prevent Australia from taxing British goods, while we, in all good temper, accept an odious income tax, vilely administered, and imposed not to meet the expenses of our own Government, but to provide funds to enable Great Britain to annex Burma or menace Russia. (*Loud and continued applause.*) Does she think we are not prepared for the privilege? I think this very Congress is proof positive of our ripeness for the task and of the intelligence and knowledge which would be brought to bear upon the affairs of the nation if only the Government were kind enough to accede to our wishes. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I am sorry that looking to the announcement our worthy President has made, I cannot venture to take up much more of your time, but if you will permit it I will go on for a few minutes more. (*Voices, "Go on"*) I thank you, Gentlemen, for this indulgence. This question of the reform of the Legislative Councils is one in regard to which too much can hardly be said. Something was said in

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speeches in Parliament about the Budget being introduced there at an earlier date, but what effective criticism can we hope for there if we do not supply the materials by our criticisms when the Budget is introduced here? But how can we outside criticise a thing of details when those details are skilfully veiled from us? It is only when we have our own representatives inside the Government, who can get at those essential details, that we shall ever be able to control, or at any rate effectively protest against, financial mismanagement. The Indian Councils Act was passed when the Government was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown. According to the provisions of that Act the expenditure of this country should be checked and controlled by the Secretary of State assisted by a Council. But how has this been carried out? We see that provision was made for the Budget being presented to Parliament with the object of securing some check. But we also know that no less a personage than Professor Fawcett, of lamented memory, speaking in Brighton in 1872, was compelled to confess that "the most trumpery question ever brought before Parliament, a wrangling over the purchase of a picture, a road through a Park, excited more interest than the welfare of 180,000,000, of our Indian fellow-subjects." (*Loud applause*). And as it was then, so it is now. It is not only Professor Fawcett, moreover, who has

protested against this monstrous injustice. Year after year some honest independent politician has raised his voice against a state of things which if it means our misery means also England's shame. Even this last session, Mr. Bradlaugh rose to protest against the practice of bringing this subject (*the Indian Budget*) forward at so late a period of the session. Last year the Budget was considered on June 21st and the year before on August 6th.

It was not right to leave to the last moment of the session the only opportunity that was afforded to Parliament of considering the wishes and the grievances of the 200,000,000 of people whom we rule. That any Parliamentary control should be exercised over the affairs of India was impossible when the Indian Budget figured upon paper as the eighth order upon one of the last days of an expiring Session (*Applause*). Following him Mr. Reid said:—"How could Parliament do anything when these matters were only brought to its cognizance on one of the very last days of a weary session when only fifteen or sixteen gentlemen had sufficient energy left to watch the proceedings. The debate was almost reduced to a farce. The discussion was begun at about a quarter past six o'clock and in four or five hours from that time they would have settled the affairs of 200,000,000 of their fellow-subjects and sanctioned the expenditure of

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between seventy and eighty millions of money. Surely it would be better to delegate these duties than to continue doing that which was a mere mockery. Would it not be possible to appoint a Committee to overlook the affairs of India, in order that the people of that country might know that their interest were being cared for adequately by the Imperial Parliament?" (Loud applause).

Then, again, Sir John Gorst, in connection with this matter said: "The regret which the Honourable member expressed with regard to the late period of the session at which the affairs of India had come up for discussion was shared by the Government with those who sat on the opposite side of the House. He believed every one would be glad, if it were possible, to bring the affairs of India under consideration of the House at a time when more members were present and when greater interest would be taken in the matter. Although many promises to introduce Indian financial statements earlier in the session had been made, no Government had ever succeeded in fulfilling those promises, and ever since he had a seat in the House the Indian Budget had been one of the incidents of the Sessions that had immediately preceded the prorogation" (Applause).

Now, gentlemen, you see that Parliament will not or cannot give that consideration even to our Budget, even to the expenditure of eighty millions of money

wrung out of the country, and none know better than you do with what hardships to the people, that we have a right to expect from them that commonsense and justice demand and if this be the case with the Budget, what chance have the rest of our affairs of getting a hearing of any kind? I say, none, and therefore we ask Parliament to allow us to look after our own affairs. We say if you cannot or will not do your duty by us, at least put us, in a position to do some portion of our duties to ourselves. We say, we entreat you in all fairness to allow us some control over our Budget, to put us in a position to say something through our representatives about it when it is brought into the council-(applause)—to give us some voice here in the management of our domestic affairs. But it would seem as if our entreaties were vain. They will not do their duty by the country themselves and they will not allow us to do it. (Applause). Can anything be more cruel, or more unjust, of the English nation which professes to love freedom and justice and boasts itself the founder of constitutional and free Government? Gentlemen, after this, I think nothing need be said by England about justice and freedom if this concession is not granted to us. Gentlemen, I must express my regret that the rapidly passing minutes debar me from speaking on this subject more fully, as I should wish, to do, though I know it does not require much further

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illustration after the speeches you have heard. Allow me now to say in conclusion that we should continue to press this righteous demand on the Government, and if all else fail simply ask them to act according to their own Christian principles which tell them to do unto others as they would be done by. (Applause. Would the English nation like to have their affairs treated in this way; would they tolerate it for one instant? Would they even dare to treat us in this way, did they not know that we are the most patient and law-abiding people on the face of the earth? Only twenty-nine members present out of six hundred and seventy five or some thing like that, when the welfare of two hundred and fifty million souls is to be discussed, and when a sum of seventy or eighty millions is to be disposed of. Loud applause.) How would they like their own affairs to be treated in that way? Would they, I repeat, stand it for one week? Would they dare thus to deal with only five millions of Irishmen? Gentlemen, I must leave them to reply, and that reply, if truthful, must be their own condemnation. No, gentlemen, let them allow us a gradually increasing liberty to look after and manage our own business, and they will find that we shall forget any temporary injustice that their negligence has caused us, and always, remember *per contra* all the good they have done us, and be grateful to them for all this and not least grateful for that concession we are now urging. (Applause).

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In supporting the following resolution of the sixth Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1890 Pandit Maḍan Mohan Malaviya said :

That this Congress, having considered the draft Bill recently introduced into Parliament by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, entitled, "An Act to amend the Indian Councils Act of 1861" approves the same as calculated to secure a substantial instalment of that reform, in the administration of India, for which it has been agitating, and humbly prays the Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to pass the same into law ; and further that its President, Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta, is hereby empowered to draw up and sign, on behalf of this assembly, a petition to the House of Commons to the foregoing effect and to transmit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh for presentation thereto in due course.

I am happy to find that we are to-day discussing the leading features of the scheme for the reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils. You know since we met last, our position has somewhat improved in this matter, and the difference between us and Government is not now quite so great as it was a year ago. The four principal points which the Congress has been urging on the Government in

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relation to the reform of the Councils have been, 1st, that the number of members on the Council should be increased ; 2ndly, that the privilege of electing at least half of these members should be given to the people ; 3rdly, that the Budget should be laid every year before the Council ; 4thly, that the members should have the right to interpellate the executive on questions of public concern. Of these, gentlemen, His Excellency the Viceroy assured us in his speech on the occasion of the last discussion of the Budget in his Council, that Her Majesty's Government had decided to grant us three, *viz.*, the enlargement of the Council ; the presentation to them of the Budget every year, whether there be any new tax to be imposed or not ; and the right to interpellate the Government in regard to any branch of the administration. Of course there are some limitations to be put upon the exercise of this latter right ; but His Excellency's words made it perfectly clear that the right itself will be conceded.

The only vital point of difference between us and Government now, therefore, is with regard to the manner of appointing members to the Council. The Government wish to nominate all the members, and we ask for the privilege of electing half of them. How evidently simple and just our prayer how utterly in-defensible the unwillingness of Government to grant it. (*Cheers.*) You know, gentlemen, that in the

reformed Councils the Government will be exactly what they now are—the final arbiter of all questions that may be brought before the Council. Even in cases where the majority of the members are opposed to any measure and vote against it, the Government will still possess the power to veto their decision, and carry things entirely according to their own will and pleasure. In other words, they will occupy the position of a judge in deciding all questions affecting our purses, our character, in fact our whole well being. The sole privilege which we are praying for is to be allowed to choose our own Counsels to represent our case and condition fully before them. And the Government seem unwilling to allow us even that! (*Shame.*) They will appoint Counsels of their own choice to plead our cause. Now, gentlemen, we thank them for this overflow of kindness towards us (*laughter*), but we feel, and we have good reasons to feel, that we should be much better off if they allowed us to exercise our own discretion in the choice of the Counsels, who are to plead our cause, defend our rights, and protect our interests. (*Cheers.*) The Legislative Council is the great tribunal before which measures of the greatest possible moment, affecting not only ourselves, but even our posterity, are continually coming up for decision, and justice requires that before the Council passes its final judgment upon them, we should be allowed to

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have our say with regard to them, through our chosen and accredited representatives. We do feel, gentlemen and feel strongly that we should no longer be debarred from exercising this simple and rightful privilege. The privilege of selecting one's own Counsel is not denied even to the most abandoned of criminals under the British rule. Why, then, should it be denied to the loyal and intelligent subjects of Her Gracious Majesty? When a jury is being empanelled, the judge asks the person whose fate is to be decided by that jury, to say if he has any objection to any person composing it, and in case he has any such objection that person is removed from the panel. But the Government of India and our Secretary of State—if the reports published in the newspapers represent their views faithfully—seem unwilling to allow the vast millions of Her Majesty's subjects in this country any voice whatever in the appointment of persons who decide questions which concern not merely any one man or any set of men amongst them, but the entire nation of them and their posterity. Could there be anything more in conflict with reason and justice? (*Loud cheers.*)

If, gentlemen, the choice of Government in the selection of non-official members had, even generally, been exercised in a manner tending to promote the interests of the people we might not have been so anxious to burden ourselves with the responsi-

bility of electing our representatives ourselves. But, unhappily, as you know, in a large majority of cases, their choice has been exercised in favour of persons who have proved to be the least qualified or willing to advocate the interests, and plead fearlessly for the rights, of the people, nay, not unfrequently, in favour of persons whose presence in the Council has helped to contribute to the miseries of the people. We would much rather that there were no non-official members at all on the Councils than that there should be members who are not in the least in touch with the people (*hear, hear*) and who being ignorant of their true conditions and requirements, betray a cruel want of sympathy with them, in heedlessly supporting measures which tend to increase suffering and discontent among them.

I will recall to your mind only two instances to illustrate what I have said. A couple of years ago, you remember, the Government was driven by reason of its excessive and, as we think, wasteful military expenditure to find some fresh means of increasing its revenue, and it resolved upon drawing the required money from the poor, the class least able to offer any resistance or protest. (*Shame.*) The question came up before the Legislative Council and unofficial honourable members, the so-called representatives of our people, so far from protesting against the proposal, gave their ready consent to it. Some of these gentlemen

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even went the length of declaring that the enhancement of the duty on salt would not inflict any hardship on the poorer classes of the people. (*Shame.*) Now, gentlemen, these big honourable gentlemen, enjoying private incomes and drawing huge salaries, may find it hard to believe that the addition of a few annas every year to the burdens of the poor, can cause any serious hardship to them. But those who know in what abject misery and pinching poverty our poorer classes generally exist, know how painfully the slightest increase in their burdens presses upon them. But these honourable members were pleased to say "the people will not feel the increase in the tax." (*Shame.*)

I will remind you of only one more case. You remember a few months ago the Government again found itself badly in want of money. Those who regulate their income by their expenditure, and not their expenditure by their income, must frequently find themselves in that unhappy position. It became necessary to raise more revenue, and after misappropriating the Famine Insurance Fund, and mulcting the Provincial Governments (thereby starving education and arresting progress in all directions), Government then resolved again on squeezing something more out of the poor. It resolved to re-impose the Patwari Cess on the ryots of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Now you may know that when

the Government of our good Lord Ripon had (*cheers*) by a cessation of war and warlike operations (*hear hear,*) effected a saving in the public expenditure, and desired to give relief to those who most needed it, they found after inquiry that the ryots of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh stood most especially in need of some relief, and they remitted the Patwari Cess to the extent of 20 lakhs. But the Government of Lord Lansdowne has this year reimposed that same cess upon them! See, I beseech you, gentlemen, what gross injustice has been perpetrated in the reimposition of this Patwari Cess? The Patwari Cess was remitted seven years ago, but the poor ryots have had to pay it, it seems all the same, year after year. (*Shame.*) It was said that the cess had been amalgamated with other taxes and could be separated from them. If the money had had to go to the coffers of the Government, such a plea would never have been listened to for a moment. (*Hear, hear.*) But it was the poor ryot who was concerned, the plea was allowed to hold good, the Talukdars and Zemindars were thus allowed to enjoy the entire benefit of the measure which the Government of Lord Ripon had passed in the interests of the ryots; and it is now on this very plea that the remission of the Cess did not benefit the ryot, that the Patwari Cess has been reimposed, not on the Zemindars

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but on the poor ryot, whereby he is now compelled to pay the Cess, twice over for no other fault of his than that he is poor and helpless. (*Loud cheers and cries of "Shame shame."*)

The Hon'ble Mr. Quinton who represented the Government of Sir Auckland Colvin at the Viceroy's Council, said in his speech on the subject that the consent of the Talukdars of Oudh had been obtained to the measure. Fancy, gentlemen, the justice of adding to the burthens of the ryot on the strength of the consent of the Zemindar! But that was not all. There were other honorable members present in the Council, who said that the re-imposition of the cess would not add much more than about 12 annas a year to the load of taxation on the ryot, any they said it was so slight a sum that the ryot would not feel the pressure at all. Well, gentlemen, it is sinful to desire unhappiness to any one. But when I hear these honorable members assert with cruel levity of heart that the addition of a few annas a year to the burthens of the insufficiently fed and clothed poor, whether it be in the shape of the Salt Tax or the Patwari Cess will not increase their wretchedness and misery. I feel tempted to exclaim with old Lear :

"Take physic pomp,
Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel
That thou may'st shake the superflux to them
And show the heavens more just."

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If these gentlemen had to live, even for a day or two on that coarse unpalatable diet which is the best our poor, often starving, can command in the brightest times, and if they had to brave the cold of our up-country winters without all those warm and soft clothings they themselves luxuriate in, they would understand what hardship the enhancement of the Salt Tax and the re-imposition of the Patwari Cess entails upon the people. (*Prolonged cheers.*) There are hundreds of thousands of ryots at this moment in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh who cannot buy sufficient cloth to cover even the upper half of their bodies properly, to protect themselves and their children from the piercing chill and cold of our northern winter nights; and remember, you gentlemen of the south, that the times are far more relentlessly severe with us there than with you here. (*Hear, hear.*) These miserable people cover themselves, their wives and children, when the season becomes very severe, with grass at night and when the intensity of the cold drives away sleep, they warm themselves by burning some of the very grass. And even that is now and then taken away from them for feeding the cattle of officials on tour. (*Shame.*) Such is the condition of the people to whom the honorable members of the Viceroy's Council said that an increase of 12 annas a year in their burthens would not mean any serious hardship! Do you

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think, gentlemen, such members would be appointed to the Council if the people were allowed any voice in their selection? (*No no never!*) And even if they were by some mistake, once appointed, would they not be scornfully rejected at the next election? (*Yes yes.*) But such men are appointed at present, to the great disgust of the people and the people are forced to submit to their legislatorship. (*Prolonged cheering*).

I fear, gentlemen, I have taken up too much of your time, and I won't detain you any longer. I hope I have made it clear why we pray the Government to allow the people the privilege of electing at least half of the members of the Council men whom the people esteem and confide in by reason of their loving sympathy with them in all their sorrows and joys. And I earnestly hope the Government will no longer delay granting us this simple rightful privilege, which while conducing greatly to our happiness, will not fail to add to the strength and glory of British rule in India. Gentlemen, I heartily support this resolution. (*Cheers*):

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IN moving the following resolution of the tenth Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1894, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

(a) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good government of that Province and having regard to the fact that a Legislative Council has been created for the N. W. Provinces, requests that no time should be lost in creating such a Council for the Punjab.

(b) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, is of opinion that the rules now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 are materially defective and prays that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be pleased to have fresh rules framed in a liberal spirit with a view to a better working of the Act and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province.

Now, gentlemen, this question concerns the Legislative Councils, which are practically the bodies which decide what taxation shall be imposed upon

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the people and how the revenues raised shall be spent, and in fact all questions which affect the weal and woe of the two hundred and odd millions of this country in the most important respect. You remember, gentlemen, that for years past the Congress laboured to bring about the reform of the Legislative Councils, We laboured earnestly to bring about a reform of these Councils by having an increase in the number of members who form those Councils, and by having a right of discussing the Budget, &c. Our request was conceded, but in a very partial and limited manner. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed, by which the number of our members was partially increased and certain powers were conferred upon us. We might then have hoped that the Councils as now constituted, or rather reformed, would be something better than the Councils which existed before these reformed Councils. But, gentlemen, I will invite your attention only to some points, to some facts, which have happened within the last 12 months, and ask you to say whether you consider that with all the reform that has been brought to you in these Councils, the Legislative Councils of India, including that of the Governor-General in Council, are anything but shams, so far as the real and true interest of the people of India are concerned. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, You will remember the debate on the Indian

Tariff Bill, you will remember the debate on the Indian Councils Bill ; you will remember how while there was a strong desire on the part of the members of the Councils, including, so far as one could see. His Excellency the Viceroy himself, to levy, to re-impose the cotton duties, the Council felt their hands fully restrained by a dictum of the Secretary of State for India ; you will remember the piteous wailings of some of the members of the Council, the piteous tones in which some of the official members of the Councils tried to excuse their conduct by saying that they were bound, being official members to vote in obedience to the orders of the Secretary of State for India. (*Shame, Shame.*) Gentlemen, if there is one characteristic of Englishmen which distinguishes them above all other people, which entitles them to the respect of nations more than anything else, it is their sense of duty. (*Cheers.*) We thought we were under the impression that an Englishman taking up any position of responsibility would lay aside all other considerations except those which should govern his conduct in relation to those for the betterment of whose condition and for the protection of whose interests he was appointed. But, gentlemen, here we have a sad confession of the weakness—shall I say something worse? No, gentlemen, I will only say weakness, or let me say the powerlessness—of the official members, as confessed

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by themselves so far as the protecting of the interests of India is concerned. When the question of re-imposing the cotton duties comes up again, the permission which the Secretary of State has granted is accompanied by the mandate that this duty so urgently needed by the distressed condition of Indian finance cannot be re-imposed unless a countervailing excise duty is imposed upon Indian manufactures. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, what does it show? It fully demonstrates this said fact, that the Government of India is powerless to protect the interests of Indians. Unfortunately, they are not equally powerless when doing mischief to the people of India. (*Cheers.*) You will remember, gentlemen, how the Exchange Compensation Allowance was granted. At that time the government of India and the Secretary of State agreed together that Exchange Compensation should be allowed, and it was allowed. Therefore as matters stand now, you find that the Government of India, as at present constituted, is powerless for the good of the Indians in all matters affecting the finances of India, and is potent for mischief in relation to matters affecting those interest (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, I have not referred to this without an object: I only wish to point out to you the extreme necessity of having a further reform of these Councils

by means of which we might have a larger number of non-official members in the Councils, armed with greater and more substantial powers to protect the interests of the people of this country. I was going to refer you to the division on the Indian Tariff Bill, simply to show you that so far as I see, every official member supported that measure which every non-official member of the Viceroy's Council opposed. Here are the proceedings recorded; you have only this satisfaction, to see that the "Ayes" and the "Noes" are recorded, but beyond that they were powerless to protect you against the injustice wrought upon you. Therefore, gentlemen, it is a matter of extreme necessity, finding that the official members of the Government of India are bound by the dictum of the Secretary of State, and finding also to our great regret that the Secretary of State, that high State dignitary is not guided by his own reasonings, by his own wishes, by his own convictions, so far as one could judge them, but that he is guided by paltry party considerations, by a desire to please a few persons in Lancashire—it becomes extremely necessary that you should unite in a body to pray to Her Majesty to grant further reform of the Councils (*Cheers*), in order that our interests may be protected. And now, gentlemen, that is, no doubt, not before the Congress at this moment, but all that I have brought it in for is to show you how very little,

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how very small, is the measure of reform that we seek of the Government in asking them to give us all that could be given, that can be liberally given, justly given, under the Councils Act of 1892. If with the entire Council standing as it does against us, our interests cannot be fully protected, is there not the greatest reason why that should be conceded in the most liberal spirit, so that we might derive the greatest benefit we can from it? Has it been so conceded and has the Indian Councils Act of 1892 been so worked? You will remember your esteemed Chairman of the Reception Committee inviting your attention to the assertions of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury in that connection. With your permission I should like to read those words again, to shew what hopes we were allowed to entertain, what promises were made to us. Mr. Gladstone speaking as the head of the Liberal party said, "I believe I am justified in looking forward not merely to a nominal but to a real living representation of the people." Lord Salisbury, on his side, speaking on the same subject, said in the House of Lords, "If we are to do it, and if it has to be done, of course accepting that it must be done, let us do it systematically, taking care that the machinery provided shall effect the purpose of giving representation, not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the living

strength and vital forces of the whole community of India." (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, if the persons entrusted with framing of the rules under the Act here had been good enough to carry out the promises given by these responsible statesmen, given by the Under Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for India in that connection, we should have had little reason to complain so far as the rules of the Councils Act are concerned. But, gentlemen, while there is an extreme solicitousness to bring in the latest improvements of western science into India, where the interests of the people of India are not directly concerned, there is an extreme unwillingness on the part of some of our Anglo-Indian Administrators to introduce reforms in the political administration of the country, which centuries ago were pronounced to be beneficent, and which centuries ago were adopted in England. You must have read, gentlemen, most of you, that before the Reform Bill of 1832, there were what was called "rotten boroughs" in England. What has become of those boroughs? I am sorry I am not able to lay my hands upon the book in which I read of them ; and cannot therefore quote it in detail, but, as far as I remember, it was simply this, that there were half-a-dozen, seats in Parliament owned sometimes by one rich man, ten seats owned by another rich man, and I believe there was one

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gentleman, a large landowner so far as I can remember, who had eleven seats in Parliament under his thumb. (*Laughter.*) Gentlemen, we thought that those times had gone by, that the constitutional battles which the English people had fought, that the agitation which they had carried on, had established the principle that "in the multitude of councillors there is wisdom"—that the greater the number of men who are admitted to a voice in the administration of the country, the greater is the chance of the administration being best conducted. Therefore, gentlemen, what we expected in every way was that the franchise would be conferred under the present Act—the Indian Council Act of 1892—in as liberal a spirit as it could be (*Cheers.*)

I will refer you to what has happened chiefly in Bombay and in the North-Western Provinces. I should not trespass upon the ground which will be taken up by my Bombay friends. I will only briefly refer to it, and then I will say a few words with reference to the North-Western Provinces. In Bombay, gentlemen, eight seats have been thrown open to the non-officials, of these eight seats two have been given to the Bombay Corporation and Senate of the Bombay University, of the remaining six seats two together have been given to the Zemindars of Sind and the Chamber of Commerce at Kurrachee, one has been given to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and two only to the general public.

A very important division, the Central division, which includes Poona and Satara, has been excluded. (*Shame, Shame.*) Now, gentlemen, I will only say this, that a system which leaves out a historical and well known place, a place which has been noted for the keenness of the intellect of its Brahmans and its other people, (*Cheers*) a place which is regarded by the people of the Deccan as the seat of the learning and piety—a system which leaves out such a place, is a system which stands condemned by itself. (*Hear, hear*) A few words with regard to the North-Western Provinces. There it has been our lot to have the greatest share of this illiberal dispensation of the franchise. Gentlemen, there are 103 Municipalities in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh; and there are 44 District Boards. While this privilege of electing members has been conferred upon all these 44 District Boards, they being grouped together in two groups and having the right to send one member from each group, only 10 out of the 103 Municipalities in the entire Provinces have been thought fit to be entrusted with this privilege. Now, you will please consider that, in the first place, this system which requires representative delegates to be elected, not by the people directly but by their elected representatives, is in itself a very objectionable system; we want the people themselves to be allowed to elect; (*Hear, hear*) and we do not see any reason why they should not. In England,

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when the organisation and the system of administration had not attained half that perfection, which I may say for administrative purposes the administration has attained in India, they extended the franchise to people enjoying a certain property qualification; while persons enjoying in this country a certain income, it may be a hundred rupees a month or two hundred rupees a month are considered to be fit to be elected Municipal Commissioners or members of the District Board. If the Government do not see their way to conferring this privilege upon all the electors who elect members for the Municipality and District Boards, where on earth is the difficulty, where is the justification for not allowing those persons who are entitled by reason of their property qualification to sit as members of the District Boards and Municipalities to elect members for the Councils directly? (*Hear, hear.*) However, if this is not done, gentlemen, let at least the members composing the Municipalities and District Boards meet at one central place—the railway makes the journey very easy—and vote for the men directly. (*Cheers.*) What is at present required is that the various District Boards and Municipalities hold meetings at their respective places and nominate one representative to vote at a central place. Out of a population of 40 millions, you find ten persons meeting together in the province to return two members in the Council. What could be more unsatisfactory

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than that? Gentlemen, I am very much afraid of the President's gong, and I do not wish to disobey the authority of the chair; so I will not take up any more time. I will only say this; that if the different administrators in this country really and honestly desire to give effect to the provisions of the Indian Councils Act, as explained by the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary of State, and by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury, they should extend the franchise to all those persons who are entitled to sit as members of the Local and Municipal Boards, or at least if they cannot venture on such a scheme as that so soon, let them confer this power at least on all the members of the District and Local Boards, and, instead of having a distilled representation, let the people elect the members themselves. Gentlemen, I will not take up more of your time, but I hope that the Government may yet see the urgency and the necessity of this reform, and that it may grant it before long. (*Loud cheers.*)

REPRESENTATION OF INDIANS IN PARLIAMENT

IN supporting the following resolution of the twentieth Indian National Congress held at Bombay in 1904 The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

That in the opinion of the Congress, the time has arrived when the people of this country should be allowed a larger voice in the administration and control of the affairs of their country by :

(a) the bestowal on each Province or Presidency of India of the franchise to return at least two members to the British House of Commons.

(b) an enlargement of both the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils—increasing the number of non-official members therein and giving them the right to divide the Council in all financial matters coming before them—the head of the Government concerned possessing the power of veto.

(c) the appointment of Indian representatives (who shall be nominated by the elected members of the Legislative Councils) as members of the Indian Council in London and of the Executive Councils of the Government of India and the Governments of Bombay and Madras.

Mr. Chairman, Brother-Delegates and Sister-Delegates, after the full and able speech which Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer has made in proposing this resolution, it is not necessary for me to say much to commend it to your acceptance. There are three parts of this resolution, gentlemen, and all these three parts have been very fully and very ably dealt with. (Hear, hear.) As my friend, Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer has pointed out, it might seem somewhat surprising to some of us that we desire to have a few representatives of our country present in the great House of Commons. Gentlemen, the desire will not seem to us so unreasonable if you look a bit more closely into the matter. (*Cheers*). By an Act of Parliament it is provided that an Indian Budget should come up for debate when the House is full, but we know, as a matter of fact, that year after year the House of Commons is cleared of most of its members when the Indian Budget is brought up for discussion. (*Cries of shame.*) Contrary to what we expected from the character of the Englishmen's love of duty and contrary to their sense of duty, they do not find it possible to be present, or I do not know how it comes about that they are not present, in sufficient numbers whenever the Budget concerning the great population of this country comes up for discussion into their great House of Commons. Well, gentlemen, we will not complain of that; we see that they have got

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to look after a very wide Empire; that they have got to look after many important concerns of their own country; that they have got to do so many things, and probably they have not got time, and we therefore, offer our humble services—(*Hear, hear*)—and ask them to “admit us into the fold of that great and glorious assembly and enable us to speak by our own mouths and in our humble way the grievances known to us of our fellow-countrymen—(*Hear, hear*)—who are entrusted to our care. If you grant that request, we shall thank you and we shall help you to better control the administration of this country which will rebound to the credit and glory of your administration.” (*Hear, hear.*) As the matter at present stands, very few members of the House of Commons take any interest in Indian questions. In saying this I do not overlook and under-estimate the value of labours of those friends of India who do work in her behalf in season and out of season—(*Hear, hear*)—and in Parliament, and out of Parliament. (*Hear, hear.*) But in the midst of the affairs of the vast and world-wide British Empire it is really very difficult to get a hearing for the population of so poor and distant a country like India. Gentlemen, if our friends in England pay attention to the Indian questions, it is because there is reason on our side and there is justice on our side—(*Hear, hear.*) Whether the English people will accede to our request

or not is left for them to decide. It is our duty to put forward these suggestions and it is their duty to consider whether they will accept them or not. We say: "Extend our Legislative Councils and give us a little more real power in this very country, and we shall try to help the Government with our advice; and with our advice it will become less and less difficult for you to exercise control over the affairs of India from England. (*Hear, hear.*) As the matter at present stands, you have recognized the principle of introducing more members in the Legislative Councils by election. That principle was recognized after a very careful consideration—(*Hear, hear*)—and careful examination of the whole subject." (*Cheers.*) The late lamented Mr. Bradlaugh brought the subject up for discussion in Parliament and it was discussed in its various aspects by the distinguished members on both sides of the House of Commons. The late Lord Salisbury cautiously granted the principle in small measure. They granted twenty members in the Imperial Council, 16 in another Council, 15 in another Council and so on. It was more or less a modicum of reform, but we did not complain of it: we took it in good light and we felt thankful to Parliament for it. (*Hear, hear.*) The reform has proved eminently successful, as was pointed out by my friend, Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer, who referred to the opinions

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of Governors-General and Governors of different provinces in which they were graciously pleased to acknowledge the worth of the members of the different Councils. (*Hear, hear.*) There has been not one complaint made that the elections have not brought in men who were, at any rate equal, if not superior to those who were appointed while nomination was the rule. (*Hear, hear.*) Well, gentlemen, we now say to the Government: "You have seen that the work of the members of the different Councils has been so good, you have seen the performance of the trial, we have fought in the action and have satisfied you that we are able to do the work entrusted to us, we have proved to be possessed of that marked ability which should be valuable in discharging our work; (*Hear, hear.*) We now ask you to extend the Councils; instead of having 15 members for the population of 44 millions—7 official and 8 non-official—we say let us have a Council where at least one member should represent one million of the population—(*Hear, hear.*)—entrusted to your care. That is not in this resolution, but I mention the fact to show you how our proposal may be worked with reference to the extension of the Councils." Our friends say: "How reasonable is your demand." I need hardly try to convince you about it, you will admit this that the number of our members in the Councils is very small. We, therefore, say this:

“Increase that number.” We also say: “Give us some real power and take us a little more into your confidence. After all it is not a question of giving us any power, because the power of veto rests with the head of the Government. It is only a question of taking us into your confidence and of reposing a little more trust in us—(*Hear, hear*)—trust us in the spirit in which our late Gracious Sovereign wished you to treat the people entrusted to your care. (*Hear, hear.*) If you do that, there will be an end of a great deal of discord and a great deal of complaint.” (*Hear, hear.*) Now what happens at present is this: the Budget comes up for discussion before the Council; you may discuss it for any number of days; you cannot ask for the vote; you cannot divide the Council; therefore we ask; Why won’t you allow us to do that in every walk of life. The Government has been pleased to admit the integrity of the Indians and their ability to discharge their duty to the Government of India in a satisfactory manner; why, then do you not appoint more of our members in the Council and take them more into your confidence; why do you not treat them with the same confidence that you show to the European members—the members of your own country? If you do not let us have the vote, the discussion becomes more or less academic. (*Hear, hear.*) There may be very effective speeches delivered but there is

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nothing left in the hands of the non-official members. If the non-official members are allowed to divide the Councils, it will lead to the Council doing better work than they do at present. (*Hear, hear.*) I do not say that the Councils are merely a farce. There is a great deal that they do, but has not the time come for allowing them a little more power? The question is whether the people of India, who have now been under the British rule for over a century, with all the education given to them and with the acknowledgment of their ability and integrity on the part of the Government, ought not to be taken a little more into the confidence of the Government, and whether the policy of mistrust, which at present exists and which really stands in the way of the recognition of the worth of the people of India by the British Nation, ought not to be changed and whether that feeling of distrust should not give way to one of generous confidence? What do you say when we find in this country gentlemen of the position, ability and distinction of our esteemed friend, Sir Pherozeşah M. Mehta? (Loud applause), and my esteemed friend, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale (Loud applause)! It cannot be said that these gentlemen are of less ability whatever than is to be found in persons of other countries where the Legislative Acts exist. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, the Government has not given us this power to do wrong,

not only to ourselves but to itself also. (*Cheers.*) Because it proclaims to the world that there is absolutely no reason why the Indian gentlemen of ability and distinction—such as I have mentioned, and there are many more such in our country—should not be allowed really to voice the Indian voice in the administration of their own country. I think, gentlemen, the sooner the Government steps forward to remove this reproach the better for it and for ourselves. (*Hear, hear.*) Because so long as it is not removed, so long will the reproach remain. Why is it not removed? God only knows the reason; we cannot account for it. We ask the Government to act upon the noble principles which the best Englishmen have from time to time advocated to be adopted in the administration of this country (*Hear, hear.*) We ask the English Government only to act upon those principles. (*Cheers.*) We must tire their patience by repeating the words of the gracious Proclamation which has been referred to so many times. The principles laid down in the Proclamation for the administration of this country are the noblest principles and would do honour to any nation in the world. (*Hear, hear.*) I consider it is inconceivable that there can be a higher ideal held up to any people of which the destinies are entrusted to another nation to be kept. We don't want to ask the Government to bring about any

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revolutionary change ; we only want them to act up to the principles laid down in the Proclamation ; we only ask them that the rules that have been laid down and the principles that have been inculcated should be acted up to. (*Hear hear.*) We are drunk with the literature of England and our minds have been illummed and enlightened by the ideas of liberty. We have our minds imbued with the ideas of freedom through a body of English literature. (*Hear, hear,*) We have learnt to love the life of freedom and justice in England ; we have found and we have known that England illustrates those principles in dealing with many self-governing Colonies. England is now brought into contact with the people of this country who, though now unfortunately fallen, can boast of a happy and glorious civilization in the past (*Hear, hear.*) We find that we have proved that we have benefited by the teachings which England has imparted to us (*Hear, hear*) ; we have done our utmost to benefit ourselves by those teachings, and we are able to hold our own, if I my say so without presumption, with our fellow-subject in England in every walk of life. (*Hear, hear.*) We find that we have produced excellent and better judges of the High Court, who discharge their duties as honourably as any other judges would do. (*Hear, hear*) We find that there are Indian gentlemen entrusted with the executive work in the High Courts—(*Hear, hear*)—and that they do not betray

their trust and discharge their duty as honourably as they would do in any other walk of life. (*Hear, hear.*) That being so, what do we find? In our own country we are anxious to feel that we are really a part and parcel of the great British Empire which we love because of its love of freedom. In our resolution, if you scan it from first to last, you will find that we pray that the principles which have been laid down should be acted up to, so that the Indians should feel, even as our late Sovereign wished that they should feel, that they are not living as a foreign nation (*hear, hear.*) We see that by not acting up to those principles, by not recognizing our worth and our work by treating us as being practically of an inferior race and by allowing the racial distinction to stand in the way of recognizing our worth, the Government are directly working contrary to those principles and are thereby making it a very difficult task for us to realise and to feel what we wish to feel; that situation has accentuated our feelings about the Government when we see what is passing around us. Every self-governing Colony of England enjoys immensely greater privileges than any we wish for at present. In England and in all other countries which have come under the permanent influence of England, the peoples are allowed to take an active part in the administration of their own affairs. We find that the other European nations have benefited by the free

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institutions of England. The ideas of liberty, of justice and of allowing the people to govern themselves more or less have gone out from England to other countries and have helped to elevate and to make the people of those countries happy. (*Hear, hear*) Well, we find in all directions this tremendous wave of civilization going out and powerfully lifting up the people from the condition in which they were found 50 years ago—into a higher and happier existence, politically, socially and intellectually. When we look around and see that all the countries are becoming more or less prosperous and are rising higher and higher in the scale of civilization and in the scale of nations, and when we find that notwithstanding all our ancient civilization and in spite of our acquisition and knowledge, at any rate of the character which is given to us under the British rule, we are deprived of the enjoyment of those rights and privileges, I ask you and I ask every reasonable Englishman and every fellow countryman of ours, whether it is right that we should be put up in this situation—that we should not be allowed to feel that we are the part and parcel of that very nation, to feel that we are treated as if we are a subject population in a very low scale of existence. Gentlemen, this is a wide question on which hinges the consideration of our whole case. Though the Indians are excluded from employment in the army, there should be no difficulty in granting them greater

powers and more privileges under Legislative Act. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, we want England to treat us with greater, higher and nobler scruples. (*Hear, hear.*) We want Englishmen, whom God has sent to govern the destinies of this country, to act up to those principles (*Hear, hear.*) and if they do it, I am sure many of those grievances of which we complain will be remedied and will be appreciated by the people who are actuated by their own innate commonsense and their own love of principle. (*Hear, hear.*) If England wants to be true to herself and if she endeavours to instruct her children to go on with the administration of our country on the principles laid down in the Proclamation—if England would only see that her sons in India are treated by her sons in England according to those principles, all our grievances will be at an end, and the reforms that we are praying for will be soon granted (*Cheers.*)

REFORM PROPOSALS

IN seconding the following resolution of the twenty-third Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1908 The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

This Congress desires to give expression to the deep and general satisfaction with which the Reform proposals formulated in Lord Morley's despatch have been received throughout the country ; it places on record its sense of the high statesmanship which has dictated the action of the Government in the matter and it tenders to Lord Morley and Lord Minto its most sincere and grateful thanks for their proposals.

This Congress is of opinion that the proposed expansion of the Legislative Councils and the enlargement of their powers and functions, in the appointment of Indian members to the Executive Councils with the creation of such Councils where they do not exist, and the further development of Local Self-Government, constitute a large and liberal instalment of the reforms needed to give the people of this country a substantial share in the management of their affairs and to bring the administration into closer touch with their wants and feelings.

This Congress expresses its confident hope that the details of the proposed Scheme will be worked out in the

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same liberal spirit in which its main provisions as outlined in the Secretary of State's despatch have been conceived.

Mr. Chairman, and brother-delegates,—While the eloquent voice of my esteemed friend is still ringing in your ears, it seems presumptuous on my part to try to address you on the same subject ; but duty has to be done ; it can neither be delayed nor abandoned. I crave your indulgence for a few minutes in which I will try to explain the position of the Congress. I am sure we are all of one mind in expressing our sincere appreciation of the liberal and praiseworthy spirit which has dictated the action of the Government of India and which has inspired the proposals of reform which they have formulated. I am sure we feel warmly grateful and we feel that they have done us a real service in formulating these proposals. Therefore, gentlemen, it is that there is such an unanimity among all Congressmen in expressing our gratitude to Lord Morley and Lord Minto for the services they have done to India, for the statesmanlike wisdom, courage, and coolness they have shown in formulating these proposals and in persevering with them. Gentlemen, it is a day upon which not only we have to congratulate ourselves, but it is one on which the great English nation has to be largely congratulated. Twenty-three years ago, when the Congress met for the first time in

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this great city, our late lamented countryman, Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, speaking as Chairman of the Reception Committee, said that the Congress was the soundest triumph of British education and a crown of glory to the British nation. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, indeed the Congress has been such a triumph of British administration and crown of glory to the British nation. You may remember that nearly fifty years ago when Her Majesty the Queen of England assumed direct control of the Government of India, in that year there was a great deal of discussion in Parliament as to the system of Government to be introduced in this country. During the debate member after member got up and expressed the desire that India should be governed on the most liberal principles. I will not weary you by reproducing many extracts from those speeches, but I will remind you of what Mr. Gladstone said. Speaking on the subject he said "there never was a more practical writer than Mr. Kaye, and in his history he says:—the admission of the natives of India to the highest office of State is simply a question of time." And there is another name entitled to great weight in this house, Mr. Halliday says:—"I believe that our Mission in India is to qualify the natives for governing themselves."

Other speakers spoke in the same strain and the Proclamation that was issued subsequently by Her

Majesty promised definitely that all the privileges that her English subjects enjoyed would be extended to her Indian subjects as they received education and gained more experience, qualified themselves for the discharge of duties which they will be called upon to discharge. Gentlemen, it took many years before these excellent ideas were put into action. But a beginning was made very shortly after the Proclamation. You know how the Councils Act of 1861 had provided that Indian members should be appointed to the Viceroy's Council. Under that provision Indian members were appointed, but that measure of reform was not sufficient. When the Congress met in 1885 it formulated a definite scheme of representation of the people of India in the Councils of H.E. the Viceroy and in the Local Councils. The Congress expressed its earnest belief that the representation of the people of India in the Councils was essential for the good administration of the country. Gentlemen, at that time the Congress laid down a scheme and that scheme is one which we have yet to see realised in its full measure. In 1886 the Congress expressed the opinion that half the members of the Supreme Legislative Council should be elected, one-fourth should be officials and one-fourth should be nominated. It expressed the same opinion with regard to the Provincial Councils. It also asked for powers of interpellation, for discussing the budget, for moving

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resolutions, in fact a complete scheme was formulated in 1886. That same scheme was repeated in greater fullness in 1889 when the late Charles Bradlaugh addressed the congress meeting at Bombay. Gentlemen, in those early years the gentlemen who spoke to this resolution were men who had occupied most eminent positions in this country. The late Mr. Justice Telang (*Cheers*), Mr. Dadabai Naoroji (*Loud and Prolonged cheers*), Sir S. Subramania Aiyar (*Cheers*), Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. George Yule, Pandit Ajodhya Nath,—men like these, had most earnestly supported the proposals which the Congress had put forward, that half the members of the Supreme Council should be elected, one-fourth should be officials and one-fourth nominated. So also in the case of Provincial Councils. That was the view which the Congress put forward again and again ; that is the view which the vast majority of our educated countrymen hold at this moment to be a sound view. We believe that the time has come when, not only in the Provincial Councils, but also in the Supreme Council, half the members at least should be elected representatives of the people. (*Hear, hear.*) That being on view, if we come forward to offer our unstinted and grateful support to the proposals of Lord Morley and Lord Minto, it is not that we feel that the country is not prepared to have that measure of reform carried out in respect of the Supreme Council, it is

not that we feel that the need for reform is less urgent or is less pressing than it was 25 years ago, during which we have gained experience by being members of council and by working other institutions—it is not that the need for it is less pressing now ; but, we feel that we should continue to act in the wise and sober spirit which the Congress has from the very first displayed in receiving the proposals of the Government (*Cheers.*) We asked that half the members of the Legislative Councils should be elected ; that was in 1885-86 ; yet when the time came for the introduction of the Indian Councils Act, we were content to receive a very much smaller instalment of reform. We feel to-day as we felt in 1886 and 1889 that half the number of the members of the Viceroy's Council at least should be elected by the people ; yet we are prepared to receive the instalment of reform which the Government are pleased to put forward for our acceptance.

Now, gentlemen, I only wish to point out—I refer to it because there is an idea in some circles, not only in England, but here, that we are receiving more than ever we asked for. There is an idea abroad, and agitation has been set on foot probably under the impression that Lord Morley and Lord Minto are under the influence of generous and liberal instincts giving to us more than what we asked for, or what is needed in the interests of the country. Nothing of the kind. I

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have told you and I will give you the reasons very briefly in order to show the value of the support which the Congress is rendering to the Government in accepting the proposals, I want to tell you how urgent is the need for reforming the Supreme Council in the way the Congress has Advocated and how beneficial will be the results not only for the people but also to the Government. I will refer to only one or two instances. Gentlemen, you know above all things the Government of India like all other Governments require the good will and moral support of the people over whom Providence has placed them to govern. That good will is a more valuable asset than all the armies which any Government has. English Statesmen have always recognised that it is so. Mr. Gladstone said so; Lord Morley said so; and every liberal and far-sighted statesman has acknowledged that to be the true view even in the case of India. In order to retain the goodwill of the people there is nothing more important than that the Government of India should be able to conduct the administration of the country with a sole eye to the good of the people. They said in 1858 "we want to govern India for India and not to please the party here, and must adopt principles which will be thoroughly acceptable and intelligible to the people of India." You know that the Government of India as they are constituted, are to a great extent under the

thumb of the Secretary of State, and that the Secretary of State, is under the thumb of the War Office. If you have a good Secretary of State, even he cannot always protect your interest. I will refer to the question of the Military burden imposed on India. Government of India after Government of India have fought against the injustice of imposing the Military charge upon the Government of India. We owe them our deepest thanks for the attitude they have adopted in this matter; yet they found it difficult to get justice done to India. In the matter of cotton excise duty, who does not know that the Government of India will not have imposed that unjust taxation if they had been left to themselves? If the Government of India cannot, by reason of position that they occupy in the economy of the British Empire, always command or exercise that independence which is needed to protect the interest of this country, what can be more reasonable in the interests of the Government of India themselves than that they should have a larger measure of support from the representatives of the people in the Council? If there were half the body of the Council composed of elective representatives of the people, if they recorded their opinions in clear and certain tones the Government of England would probably have hesitated a great deal more before they imposed either the military burden or such an impost as the cotton excise duty

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upon the people of India. Yet, what is the result? There is any amount of ill-feeling caused in the country by the imposition of such unjust burden. Therefore in the interests of sound administration itself, it will be an advantage to have half the number of members to be elected representatives of the people.

Look at the question from the point of view of the people. There is the question of *Irrigation* v. *Railways*. Times out of number, not only representatives of the people but some of the highest officials of the Government, no less an authority than Lord Macdonell, presiding over the Famine Commission, expressed the strong opinion that irrigation should receive more attention than railways. Yet what do we find? The Government of India are devoting more money to build railways than to promote irrigation. So also in the matter of Primary Education; if you had elected representatives in the Council their support would enable the Government of India to carry on the administration better and to the greater satisfaction of the people and to the stronger security of the British rule in that it will win the hearts and affections of the people. I have referred to this to show that the need for the reform of the Supreme Council is very pressing and we feel that it is not that we can abandon it; yet as I told you, we are prepared to receive the instalment of reform which the Government have put forward, in a

truly grateful spirit. That is a remarkable proof, I hope, of the way in which the action of the Government will be received by the educated people of India in all matters where the Government take them into their confidence. That shows that, if they had admitted us to the Supreme Council, we should not run away with mad ideas, pester them with mad ideas, but be reasonable and considerate in pressing for reforms in matters which promote the well being of the people and would not hamper them in any of their actions.

I hope, having said that much, I need not take up much more time in dwelling upon the reforms. My esteemed friend has done so, and the resolution very well summarises the main features of the reform. There has not been time enough to discuss all the proposals, but there are one or two points which are matters of importance, which I crave your indulgence to say something about. The most important is about the question of the appointment of Executive members in the Councils. We are thankful to the Government of India and to Lord Morley that they have decided to appoint Indians as Members of the Executive Councils. That again is a prayer which the Congress had been repeating year after year for a long time. Certainly it must be a matter of great satisfaction to Congressmen that so many of their recommendations have been accepted by Government. But gentlemen, with regard to this

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matter, there is a suggestion which it is important to make. Lord Morley¹ has said that he proposed to take powers under the Act which is to be introduced into Parliament to appoint an Indian member to the Executive Council of the Viceroy and of the Provincial Government. I beg to suggest and hope that the Congress is of one mind in this matter—that the powers should not be merely taken to appoint a member when the Secretary of State may like, but that it should be provided for in the Statute. (*Hear, hear and cheers.*) There is any amount of reason in support of this suggestion. I will refer you only to two incidents to show that the need for it is urgent. You remember, gentlemen, as a rule, it is our experience that when matters are not provided for in the Statute, when they are left to the will and pleasure, to the particular idiosyncracies or to the generous instinct of a particular representative of His Majesty who may for the time control the destinies of India, the reforms are not always carried out as the interests of the country demand that they should be. When the Councils Act of 1861 was under discussion in Parliament a question was asked by Mr. Bright, and in answer to that question the then Secretary of State said that a member of Council would be able to propose a resolution to any question of revenue precisely as they could in the House of Commons. That was said in 1861, yet not

once was this privilege exercised. It was not put in the Statute, it was therefore not recognised as a thing which ought to be brought into practice and it was not brought into practice. I will give you another instance. In the matter of appointment of Indian members of Council no man could have used more strong, more emphatic, clear and binding language than was the language used by Sir Charles Wood in discussing that measure. Suggestions had been made by several members that that Act should provide that a certain proportion of the members of Council should be Indians. That suggestion received the support of a good number of members, but then in answer it was pointed out by Sir Charles Wood that, while he agreed to the desire that it should be so, he thought that it was not necessary to make a provision in the Statute. And mark the language he used. The first ground was that he wanted to regard Indian members as being equal to other members in the Councils of the Empire. "It had been said" said Sir Charles Wood in the course of that discussion "that their great object ought to be to obliterate the distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered in India. Now, that was precisely the policy which he wished to carry into effect. Those Bills distinctly provided that the natives should be employed in the Legislative Councils as well as in the highest judicial Courts, and in the most important

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executive offices. The same spirit ran through the whole of them—the spirit which animated that policy which Lord Canning had been most successfully carrying out, and which, he believed, with his honourable friend would afford the best security for the permanence of our rule, for it would make the highest class of natives, as well as those of lowest degree feel that their own good was bound up in the continuance of our sway. He believed that was the best mode of consolidating and perpetuating our dominion in that country. He might observe, however, that he had not thought it at all desirable to name the natives expressly in the measure. He held the law of perfect equality (mark you equality?) before her Majesty's subjects without distinction of race, birth, or religion, and he would not do anything which could lead to the supposition that he doubted for a moment the existence of that principle. He had never admitted that there was any distinction between any of the subjects of the Queen, whatever might be their differences of birth of race, or religion. That was the spirit of the Proclamation of Her Majesty on the occasion of her assuming the direct Government of India ; and that was the principle which would continue to actuate him in all his administrative measures."

Nobler language was never used in explanations of intentions of Her Majesty's Proclamation. There

never could be a clearer determination shown to employ Indians to the highest executive offices. This was uttered in 1861; we are now in the year of Grace 1908 and not a single member has been appointed either to the Executive Council of the Viceroy or to any of the Local Government. It may be, I have no doubt you will agree, that Sir Charles Wood was prompted by the same generous instinct which prompts Lord Morley. I believe in Lord Morley's firmness and determination to introduce reforms. I believe, so was Sir Charles Wood. It may be that a member may be appointed to-day. There is no guarantee that a member will be appointed time after time to the Executive Councils unless provision is made for it in the Statute. I therefore beg to suggest, I hope the Congress is of one mind in this matter, that there should be statutory provision for the appointment of not only one Indian but at least two in the Viceroy's Executive Council, and the Executive Councils of Governors. (*Loud cheers.*)

There is only one other matter which involves a question of principle. (The President at this stage sounded the gong.) I am sorry I have exceeded the time; it is an old sin of mine; but the matter is of importance. I hope I shall satisfy you that I am not taking up your time uselessly. There is one other important question, that of class representation which

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we cannot afford to overlook on such an occasion. Now, gentlemen, I believe myself and a vast majority of educated, that there are no conflicts of interests among Indians as Indians, In 999 out of every 1,000 matters, the interests of Hindus, Muhammadans, landholders and merchants are all the same. We are governed by the same taxation; whatever misfortunes be fall the country, we have to share them together. Therefore I cannot see the need, I beg respectfully to say of having such class representation as has been given a prominent place in the Reform Scheme. (*A voice; there are certain questions*). There are questions; it is perfectly right, but these questions do not come before the Legislative Council either of the Viceroy or of the Local Governments.

In matters of religion, in matters of faith and worship different sects may work apart, though not with hostile feelings; but in matters secular their interest do not conflict. Their interests are not interests of one class against the other. However, if they do let us consider what the proposals are (Here the speaker's attention was again drawn by the President to the time limit. The speaker apologised and promised to finish soon and resumed his address). Now, gentlemen, I was going to say in the matter of class representation, Lord Morley's proposals, so far as they go, are excellent. There has been expressed a desire in some

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quarters that there should be provision made to enable members of separate communities to vote apart from other members that there ought to be a fixed number of members in each community, who could sit in the councils. That will work manifestly injuriously to one community at least in Upper India. In my own Province, the United Provinces, there are 1,246 elected Councillors of whom 436 are Mussalmans. According to the proportion of population only 225 will be entitled to sit if the rule suggested were adopted. At present, therefore, I think gentlemen, we should leave Lord Morley's proposals as they stand in this matter and not ask that any different principle of representation should be introduced. I will not take up any more of your time. Let nobody be under the delusion that the reforms are final. We must receive them with grace, with warm gratitude. We must hope for more and more

Not enjoyment and not Sorrow,
Is our destined end or way,
But to act that each to-morrow
Find us farther than to-day.

Only by the kind dispensation of an all-kind Providence and by the help of Government which Providence has placed over us, we are to achieve that measure of Self-government for which expression has been given by the best Indians during the last 25 years.
(Loud and prolonged cheers.)

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Presidential address delivered at the second United Provinces Conference held at Lucknow in 1908.

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for the high honour you have done me by electing me to preside over this distinguished Conference. Words fail to adequately express the gratitude I feel. I trust that the kindly feelings which have prompted you to do so, will lead you further to extend to me all the indulgence and support which I shall require to be able to guide the proceedings of this assembly in a manner befitting its high aim and dignity.

The year that has passed since we met at Allahabad, has been an eventful one, and I am sorry to say an unhappy one. We have lost our revered leader Pandit Bishambhar Nath, who led and guided us with so much love and wisdom for the last twenty-five years. Ever since a Congress Committee was formed at Allahabad, he stood forward at the head of the Congress movement in these Provinces, at one time alone, at another time with that other great leader, Pandit Ajodhya Nath, whose loss we shall never cease to mourn. It was my proud privilege to work under Pandit Bhishambhar

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Nath, as it had been to work under Pandit Ajodhya Nath, up to the last days of his life. It is not for me to dwell here on the inspiring enthusiasm of Pandit Ajodhya Nath, or of the sober but unflagging devotion of Pandit Bishambhar Nath to the country's cause. But I may be permitted to say that though great has been our sorrow at the loss of these honoured leaders, when I think of the nobleness of their patriotism, the deep earnestness of their interest in the country's cause, their readiness to undergo any sacrifice which might be necessary to promote public good, I feel hopeful, believing as I do in the doctrine of re-births, that these great and good souls, and other great sons of India, will be born again and again in our midst until they have seen their dear country take its proper place of honour in the scale of nations. Considering how much noble work is to be done to lift the vast mass of our countrymen from a state of ignorance, poverty and misery to a state of happiness befitting civilised man, the patriot, like a true philanthropist, might well postpone the beatitude of salvation to the glorious service of God through man.

We have also to mourn the loss of another esteemed gentleman, Pandit Lakshmi Narayana Vyas of Allahabad, who continued, in spite of old age to take an earnest interest in all public movements, and who has left behind him an example of public spirit well

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worthy of being followed. It grieves me greatly to add to this list the name of Babu Gopal Lal, M. A., of Fyzabad, one of the most promising and public spirited men of the younger generation, who was cut off in the prime of life a few months ago, and of Babu Kedar Nath of Agra who had only recently transferred himself to the High Court at Allahabad, and whose useful career came to an untimely end a few days ago under distressing circumstance at Etawah.

I pass on to mourn the loss of the vast number of our brothers and Sisters who have fallen victims to plague. It is now the eighth year since these Provinces had the misfortune of being first attacked by plague. During these eight years, according to official reports nearly as many lakhs of our fellow countrymen have been devoured by this fell enemy of mankind. "That grief is common to the race, makes mine not less but rather more," and the fact that nearly fifty-five lakhs of people have died from plague in all parts of India during the last eleven years, does not mitigate but deepens our grief for those whom we have lost. It is heart rending to think of this appalling loss of human-life and of the sorrow and suffering which it has left behind.

As if, however, the cup of our misery was not full the gaunt spectre of Famine is now stalking over the length and breadth of these unfortunate provinces. The

the Ordinance against Public Meetings has run out its period; the Seditious Meetings Act has been put in force in only one district throughout India, but the evil effect of this policy of repression still lives.

The appointment of a Decentralisation Commission and the proposals for a reform of the Legislative Councils and for the creation of Advisory Councils did not soothe the public mind. The scope of the enquiry of the Commission was too much narrowed by the questions laid down for witnesses. And as for the proposals for reform, they were in the first place of an inadequate and even retrograde character, and in the second place, there was an undisguised hostility exhibited in the despatch which contained those proposals, against educated Indians which was a strange development in the attitude of the Government of India towards them.

And, lastly, before the year closed, we had the misfortune to witness the breaking up of the Indian National Congress at Surat, a circumstance which filled all lovers of the country with great grief, for that Congress was the only national organisation reared up by twenty-two years of patriotic devotion and self-sacrifice, where Indians of all races and creeds met together year after year to deliberate upon their common grievances, to voice their common wants and feelings, and to decide upon a common course of

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action to ameliorate the condition of their country.

Who would wish to dwell upon such an unhappy past? But the past has its lessons for the future both for the Government and the people, and it is necessary that we should consider what those lessons are and endeavour to profit by them.

DISCONTENT WIDESPREAD AND GROWING

It is necessary in the first instance to recognise that there is a great deal of discontent in the country, that this discontent has existed for many years, and that it has been growing. It is also necessary that the nature and causes of the discontent should be properly understood in order that a suitable remedy may be provided. Sir Harvey Adamson, speaking last year in the Viceroy's Council, said "that the Government of India have all along recognised that the unrest is not solely the outcome of seditious agitation but has its basis in the natural aspirations of the educated Indians." In saying this, however, he stated only half the truth. The discontent with which the Government is confronted in this country is not due only to the aspirations surging in the breasts of educated Indians. It is shared by the vast body of the people who have not yet been touched by those aspirations, and its causes must therefore be looked for deeper than

the spread of western ideas among an eastern people.
The first among these causes is

THE POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE

That the people of India are extremely poor is undeniable. There has been a great controversy going on for a long time as to whether poverty has been increasing under British Rule in India. The late Mr. William Digby and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and other distinguished writers have published figures and statements derived from official sources to prove that poverty has been steadily growing. Government officials and apologists, on the other hand, have denied the correctness of these statements, and many have been the occasions on which a Viceroy or a Secretary of State has declared that the people are growing in prosperity. Now, gentlemen, no amount of theory can be of any weight against the evidence of facts, and let us see what the facts are about the true condition of the people.

THE EVIDENCE OF FAMINES

The first fact that stares us in the face is that famines have become much more frequent during the last fifty years, and that the power of resistance has been growing weaker and weaker among the people. Since 1860 we have had twenty-two famines, and it has been estimated that nearly twenty-nine millions of lives have been lost in consequence thereof. The

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famines of 1865 and 1868 first excited attention. But the enormous mortality of more than eighty-two lakhs caused during the great famine of 1876-78 opened the eyes of our administrators. A Famine Commission was appointed, and after a careful enquiry it submitted its Report in which it recommended that among all the measures which must be undertaken to give direct protection to the people from famine, the first place should be given to irrigation. Notwithstanding this recommendation, however, the Government of India favoured Railways even times more than irrigation, and the Famine Commission of 1900, which was appointed after the most terrible famine known in Indian history, found itself under the necessity of urging the recommendation about irrigation again upon the attention of the Government of India. Every famine enquiry that has been made, and every famine that has occurred has left an imperishable record of the extreme poverty of the people. After the famine of 1868, the Government devised a system of relief to prevent deaths from actual starvation, which was first carried out on an extensive scale in the time of Sir Antony McDonnell, and which is being again worked very humanely in these Provinces under the administration of Sir John Hewett. The enormous number of persons who sought State relief in 1897, 1899 and 1900, and of those who are

receiving it now does not certainly negative the existence of widespread poverty. It affords, on the contrary, the strongest evidence that the condition of the people has become so deplorably weak that at the first touch of scarcity hundreds of thousands, nay millions, of them have to throw themselves on the mercy of the State in order to save themselves from death by starvation.

In 1887 Lord Dufferin ordered an enquiry into the condition of the agricultural and labouring classes in these Provinces. The results of that enquiry have become public. They established it beyond dispute that there was a great deal of poverty among the people and that their condition was far from satisfactory. The dreadful famines we have had since, have thinned our population, and diminished the vitality of our people. The report of the Census of 1901 showed that between 1891 and 1901, the population of these provinces increased by 1·7 *per cent* only, while the normal rate of increase estimated in 1891 was 3 per cent per year. Besides this, adding the number of births which took place between 1891 and 1901 to the Census population of 1891, and subtracting from it the number of reported deaths which occurred during the same period, we find that there was a deficit of 16 lakhs in the population. After making every possible allowance the official reporter found that

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there was a deficit of 3·5 lakhs which could not be accounted for, except by being spread over the four black years of 1894-1897, which were years of drought and distress ; which means that these people also died of starvation or disease due to starvation.

THE EVIDENCE OF PLAGUE AND HIGH MORTALITY

Following closely upon the heels of famine, plague has been working its ravages in India for the last eleven years. As I have said before, according to official reports, we have lost nearly fifty-five lakhs of people from plague. I myself believe we have lost a very much large number.

In these very Provinces, I believe not less than a million of our people have died from plague. Now it is true that the origin of plague is not yet quite known. But what is known is that plague is chiefly a disease of the poor, and is largely favoured by the low condition of the people in whose midst it may find introduction. In his excellent Treatise on Plague, Prof. Simpson remarks :—

“Pandemics and epidemics are generally associated with unusual seasons which bring distress and misery, with war and famine, and their attendant evils, with political, or economical conditions which are the reverse of prosperous and which produce general depression in the country, and also with a laxity or absence of sanitary administration which

prevents or hinders prompt dealing with the earlier cases." In another place the same author remarks:—

"Social conditions connected with poverty, misery, deficient or ill-nutritious food and overcrowding combined with the local conditions which are generally associated with these, such as insanitary dwellings, which are dark, damp, dirty, badly lighted, dilapidated and harbouring rats and insects, are the factors commonly found to predispose to plague. It is in a population living under these social and local conditions that plague usually commits its greatest ravages."

This opinion based upon careful observation, lends strong support to the view that the famines which preceded plague, had predisposed the people to plague, and that the appalling mortality from plague in these and other provinces of India has been due to the fact that the vast mass of people are extremely poor and live in unhealthy surroundings.

Apart from plague, mortality ascribed to fever and other causes has also been increasing. I will not weary you with details. It is sufficient for me to say that the death-rate for the United Kingdom was last year 16 per thousand for the whole of India 35 per thousand; and for the United Provinces 44 per thousand. This evidence of the heavy mortality from plague, famine, fever and other general causes is certainly not evidence which should be ignored

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or lightly dealt with. It tells a sad but truthful tale of deep and wide-spread poverty. It is certainly not evidence of increasing prosperity. Nor is the great rise in prices of the necessities of life such evidence. That rise has not been accompanied by a proportionate rise in wages, and has therefore only accentuated the poverty of the people. The Famine Commission of 1898 went carefully into this question, and speaking of the vast body of the people, including the great class of day-labourers and the least skilled of artisans, they said: "So far as we have been able to form a general opinion upon a difficult question, from the evidence we have heard and the statistics placed before us, the wages of these people have not risen in the last twenty years in due proportion to the rise of prices of the necessities of life. The experience of the recent famine fails to suggest that this section of the community has shown any large command of resources or any increased powers of resistance. Far from contracting, it seems to be gradually widening, particularly in the more congested districts. Its sensitiveness to succumb, instead of diminishing, is possibly becoming more accentuated, as larger and more powerful forces supervene and make their effects felt where formerly the result was determined by purely local conditions."

. There has been a certain rise of wages since, owing

partly to the large number of deaths from plague and partly to other causes. But along with this rise in wages there has been a greater rise in the prices of the necessities of life. The result is that the rates, which prevail in normal years in these Provinces now, are the rates which used to prevail in famine years. (*Hear, hear.*) The Government seem to have no conception of the misery which this entails upon the lower middle classes as well as on the masses of the people. Opinion is divided as to the causes of this rise of prices. But there can be no two opinions about the enormous proportions which the evil had attained, and it demands that the Government should appoint a Commission to enquire into its causes and to suggest a remedy. In the meantime, to mitigate the suffering caused by the existing state of things, it is desirable that the Government should read just the scale of salaries of the large number of its lowly paid servants in the military and the civil departments, to enable them to better withstand the effects of scarcity. The gratuitous relief which is administered reaches only those that are among the weakest—the large body of the lower middle classes above them also requires consideration.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL .
CONGRESS

In addition to the evidence of poverty to which I have referred above, there is the testimony of the Indian

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National Congress which came into existence in 1885. Since 1886, the Congress has again and again drawn the attention of the Government to the increasing poverty of the people. It has repeatedly stated its conviction that fully fifty millions of people live constantly on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation. It has asked Government to appoint a Commission to ascertain the truth of this statement, but the Government has not acceded to the request. The Famine Union has also more than once suggested an enquiry into typical villages to find out the true condition of the people, but this also has not been done. A large number of most highly educated Indians, who live and move among the people, and who represent all classes of the community and contain among them men whom the Government themselves have honoured, have year after year affirmed their belief that poverty is increasing among the people and have asked the Government to take measures to remedy it. Now, gentlemen, it is not fair to the people and the country that when the Government have got such statements before them they should not institute an enquiry into the matter. If the facts are not as the Congress has repeatedly stated them to be, if instead of getting poorer and poorer the people are becoming prosperous none will be more delighted than the Congress and the Indian

public to know it. The Government would lose nothing by instituting such an enquiry as the Congress has asked for. To allow such a statement to be repeated year after year without taking the proper step to correct it, is, I submit, neither wisdom nor statesmanship. The refusal of the Government to institute such an enquiry as has been suggested, lends support to the belief that poverty is increasing. This belief is of course based on facts which are within the knowledge of the people. It is generally known that a large number of the zemindars are indebted, and that a considerable proportion of ryots are living from hand to mouth. There has been little progress made in the development of Indian industries; the volume of trade in the hands of Indians has not much increased. The large number of lowly-paid Indians who are employed either by Government or by private firms or individuals have had little or no increase to their salaries. The conditions of existence are, in the case of the great mass of the people, hard and oppressive. In the face of these facts and circumstances, is it at all surprising that there should be widespread discontent in the country? The wonder, to my mind, is that there is not more of it.

THE CAUSES OF POVERTY

The Congress has recorded its conviction that the poverty of the people is largely due to the fact that the land assessment in many parts of the country is still

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unbearably heavy that it presses unduly upon the tiller of the soil, and leaves little of the fruits of his industry to him; that, in short, it is at the bottom of all this misery. It has urged a reduction of the land revenue demand. It has also pointed out that the present short-sighted system of periodical settlements of the land revenue demand is a great bar to the improvement of agriculture, and has repeatedly urged that measures should be taken to give, as was promised by the British Government forty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land-revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country.

The Congress has pointed out that among the causes of the increasing poverty of the people, an important cause in the excessive costliness of the British administration in India. There is no country on earth which is poorer than India, and none where official salaries range higher than they do in India. These two facts make a painful contrast. It has repeatedly been urged that it is wrong to impose such a costly administration on the people of this country when their poverty is so patent. It may be, gentlemen, that poverty has not been growing under British Rule. Let us assume, for argument's sake, that it has not been growing. Let us take the fact of poverty as we find it; and it must be admitted tha

the people are poorer than they should be after having been under the enlightened rule of Great Britain for 150 years. Not only are the salaries of public servants very high, but, except to a certain extent in the judicial line, the children of the soil are practically excluded from all the higher appointments. No doubt Indians are employed in a number of the smaller appointments on the Civil side. But these appointments carry small salaries, and even in the case of these smaller appointments, Europeans and Eurasians are not unoften preferred to Indians, as has been complained of again and again in the Viceroy's Council and in the Provincial Councils.

In the military department, the claims of Indians to the higher ranks of the service, are even more rigorously, more cruelly, ignored. However great the faithfulness with which an Indian soldier may devote himself to the British Government; however great and numerous the honours which he may win on fields of battle, no Indian soldier can rise in the Indian Army above the post of a Subadar Major! Attention has repeatedly been drawn to this great grievance by the Congress; but up to this time the Government has taken no steps to move in the direction of admitting Indians to the higher ranks of the army. The result of this virtual monopoly of all the higher appointments in the army and the civil services by Europeans, is that

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not only have we to pay for their services on a much higher scale than is justified by our present condition, but also that a vast amount of the money so paid is drained out of the country year after year which, if it circulated in the country, would help to feed many hungry mouths and to clothe many naked bodies in India. The Congress has again and again urged that the cost of the administration, both civil and military, should be greatly reduced, by the wide substitution of the cheaper indigenous agency for the extremely costly imported staff. It has repeatedly urged that the great remedy lies 'in instituting a system of examinations for the Civil Service and all other services for which public examinations are held in England alone at present, simultaneously with those examinations, in India. That recommendation was supported by a large body of evidence before the Public Service Commission which was appointed by Lord Dufferin; but unfortunately the opinions of the majority of witnesses were ignored. Later on, a resolution was passed by the House of Commons at the instance of Mr. Herbert Paul, in favour of holding simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service in India and in England; but that resolution also has been a dead letter. The justice of the claims of Indians to fill the highest ranks of the service of their country is fully recognised in theory; speaking generally, it has

been sadly and systematically disregarded in practice. Then the Congress has pointed out that the unhappy condition of the people of India is largely due also to their exclusion from a due participation in the administration, and from all control over the finances, of their country. It has pressed for the introduction of representative institutions, where Indians familiar with the true condition and wants of the people may be able to lay their views before the Government and to press the necessity of conducting the administration on lines most conducive to their welfare. But Indians have not yet been given any potential voice in the affairs of their country.

Lastly, the Congress has pointed out that one of the important causes of widespread poverty in this country is the decline of indigenous arts and industries, and has urged the establishment of technical schools and colleges at important centres throughout the country and the encouragement of indigenous arts and industries. The Famine Commission of 1898 forcibly drew the attention of the Government of India to the importance of promoting industrial pursuits. "At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India," said they, "and the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass

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of the people, and that no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to earn the means of subsistence in manufactures and some such employments." They pointed out that a main cause of the disastrous consequences of Indian famines and one of the greatest difficulties in the way of promoting relief in an effectual shape is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the people directly depend upon agriculture and that there is no other industry from which any considerable part of the population can derive its support. But notwithstanding this important pronouncement by its own official Commission, the Government has not yet thought it fit to introduce a suitable system of technical and industrial education. As His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor said the other day in his address at the Industrial Conference at Naini Tal, "the question of technical and industrial education has been before the Government and the public for over twenty years. There is probably no subject on which more has been written or said, while less has been accomplished." The Government cannot, it is true, 'regulate the sunshine and the shower'; but as was observed by His Honour, it can open new avenues of

employment and thereby spread prosperity over the land. We must cordially thank Sir John Hewett for the attempt he has made to make a good beginning in this direction, and hope that his proposals will be sanctioned by the Government of India, as they are sure to lead to much good result. But the sad fact remains that the Government has done nothing worthy of the name during the last thirty years to develop this great means of mitigating the evils of famines.

DISREGARD OF INDIAN PUBLIC OPINION

Not only have the claims of Indians to employment in the higher branches of the public service and to a share in the administration of the country been disregarded, but the opinions of the representatives of the Indian people expressed in Congress, Conferences, Councils, through the press and otherwise, have not received much consideration from the Government. Year after year for the last twenty two years, the Indian National Congress has submitted resolution after resolution to Government on the most important subjects of public interest. But we all know how little attention has been paid by the Government to these resolutions. To mention only one instance out of many, the Congress has for years been urging that military expenditure should be reduced. But so far from this being done, during the last twenty years about ten crores has been added to

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the cost of the army. To add ten crores to the already over-grown military charges in a country where the people have been dying by millions from the effects of poverty and plague and where the annual average income, as even Lord Curzon would have us believe, is only Rs. 30 per head of the population, is not certainly evidence of that consideration and concern for the moral and material well-being of the people, which we have a right' to expect from our administrators. But in this as in every other matter, whether it be a question of expenditure or of taxation, the people have no potential voice. This must lead to maladministration and to consequent discontent.

I hope, gentlemen, I have made it clear in what I have stated above, that the causes of the present discontent lie deeper than in the aspirations of the educated Indians. I hope I have shown that they lie in the first place in the growing, or at least the deep and widespread, poverty of the people; in the second place, in the cost of the administration, and therefore taxation, being heavier than the people can bear; in the third place, in the disregard of the just claims of Indians to appointments in the higher ranks of the public service and to a share in the administration of the country; and lastly in the disregard of Indian public opinion in administering the affairs of India.

THE REMEDY

The remedy, gentlemen, for this deep discontent lies in adopting measures to govern India more in conformity with the high and noble principles laid down by the Queen of England, when the Government of this country was taken over by the Crown, after the Mutiny of 1857. It became necessary then to formulate a new system of Government. A bill was introduced in the House of Commons called the Government of India Bill. It was recognised at that time that the people of India were a highly civilized people and that though they had fallen from their high position, they required to be treated with consideration. In introducing the Bill, Lord Palmerston said :—"It is perhaps one of the most extraordinary facts in the history of mankind that these British Isles should have acquired such an extensive dominion in a remote part of the globe, as that which we exercise over the continent of India. It is indeed remarkable that those regions, in which science and art may be said to have first dawned upon mankind, should now be subject to the rule of a people inhabiting islands, which, at a time when those eastern regions enjoyed as high a civilization and as great prosperity as that age could offer, were in a state of utter barbarism." More than one speaker who took part in the debate on that Bill declared that the object of the Government should be to so qualify

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the people of India that they should again be able to govern themselves. In the course of a remarkable speech, Mr. Gladstone said:—"I will take that great question.....I mean the question of the state of the natives, of the efforts which we are to make to keep open for them a career, and of the measures which we are to adopt for bringing them forward in the social scale, which if it be a true advance, cannot be limited to the social scale but must leave open a political career. We have to look at the question how far we can improve their qualifications for that career, and the measure of their qualifications must be the exact measure of their admission. This is not the opinion of theorists or the vision of philanthropists. There never was a more practical writer than Mr. Kaye, and in his History he says,—'The admission of the natives of India to the highest offices of State is simply a question of time.' And there is another name entitled to great weight in this House, Mr. Halliday. Mr. Halliday says:—I believe that our mission in India is to qualify the Natives for governing themselves.' Now, Sir, continued Mr. Gladstone, "it is impossible that this House can be perpetually legislating about India. It cannot perpetually be considering from year to year in what manner it can frame and assert on behalf of the Natives that arrangement of Government and administration

which shall be well adapted to bring them forward in proportion to their powers in the work of governing themselves." Mr. Bright also expressed himself to the same effect. He contemplated a time when the sovereignty of England might be withdrawn from India, and suggested that the administration of the country should be so organized that "if at any future period the sovereignty of England should be withdrawn, we should leave so many Presidencies built up and firmly compacted together, each able to support its own independence and Government." He urged that in future India should be governed "not for a handful of Englishmen, not for that Civil Service whose praises are so constantly sounded in this House. You may govern India if you like for the good of England, but the good of England must come through the channel of the good of India." Mr. Bright suggested the issue of a Proclamation to the people of India promising them their rights and privileges under British Rule. The suggestion was supported by the Earl of Ellenborough, who referring to the contemplated despatch of British troops to India, said :—"But however valuable it may be to send out a strong re-inforcement of troops, I do not believe that that re-inforcement will enable us to maintain our position in that country unless we send out also a policy intelligible and acceptable to the Natives. The first Act of the

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Government when Her Majesty assumes in her own person the direction of affairs in India ought to be to issue, in the most solemn manner, and the Queen's word must be sacred, a proclamation with respect to the religion and the rights of the natives. That Proclamation must not be written to please the House of Commons, not to please the people on the hustings, still less people on the platform; it must be addressed to the people and the army of India. We have to govern India for India, not to please a party here, and must make a declaration of the principles on which we intend to govern it such as will be thoroughly acceptable and intelligible to the people."

The suggestion was graciously accepted by Her Majesty, the late Queen Victoria. In a letter dated 17th August 1858, Her Majesty gave instructions to Lord Derby to draw the Proclamation. The letter ran thus:—"The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would write it (the proclamation) himself in his own excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct Government over them, and after a bloody civil war giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem and explaining the principles of her Government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence,

and religious toleration and point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the wake of civilisation." The noble words of the Proclamation are so well familiar to you that I need not take up your time by repeating them here. Nobler principles were never adopted by any Sovereign for the Government of a foreign people. India was to be governed for Indians, Indians were to be appointed without any distinction of race, creed or colour to the highest appointments in the service of their country, civil and military, judicial and executive, for which they might be qualified. The noble Queen of England, speaking as the highest representative of the English nation, solemnly declared that she held herself bound by the same obligations to the people of India which bound her to her other subjects *i.e.*, that Indians would be treated as standing on a footing of equality with the other subjects of the British Crown. If these noble principles had been fully acted up to, India would not have known the discontent that she is groaning under to-day. She would not have known either the great and widespread poverty which is to her the source of indescribable suffering and sorrow. But unfortunately these principles have only partially been carried out; they have not been the

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guiding principles of the administration, and the system that has been built up in actual practice is not calculated to secure either the contentment or the well-being of the people.

It is important to consider how all this has come about. The Government of India Bill to which I have referred above, provided that the Government of India should vest in a Viceroy, with an Executive Council in India and in a Council of eight retired Indian officials presided over by a Secretary of State in London. The chief objection to that Bill was that no provision was made in it for the representation of the people of this country. As Mr. Yule pointed out in his excellent address at Allahabad, Mr. Disraeli, who was the leader of the opposition, objected to it on the ground of the insufficient check which it provided. He said that with such Councils as those proposed "you could not be sure that the inhabitants of India, would be able to obtain that redress from the grievances under which they suffered, that English protection ought to insure." "it violated popular feeling in crushing the old Saxon principle of representation." That Bill was abandoned, and so was another of a similar nature. The bill which was finally passed and under which we are now governed, provided that legislative and administrative powers should be entrusted to a Governor-General and a

Council in India, and the check upon them should be a Secretary of State, with a Council of fifteen members sitting in London, who should be responsible to the House of Commons. This arrangement was regarded, however, as observed by Mr. Yule, only as a provisional one, and the policy to be pursued was to work up to the constitutional standard, viz., a representative system of government. "There are no better securities for good Government" an Honourable member reminded the House, "than national representation and the free expression of public opinion". But, it was urged that "national representation you cannot at present have in India, and the only influence of public opinion which you have must be in England." But education was to be promoted, and Indians were to be employed in high offices, "with the view, among other reasons, to fit them for the anticipated enlargement of their political powers." It would thus appear that at the time India was placed under the direct rule of England, the idea clearly was to gradually let the people have their proper share in governing themselves through their representatives.

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 was passed soon afterwards to make better provision for the constitution of the Council of the Governor-General. Power was given by it to the Governor-General to appoint a certain number of additional non-official members to

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his Council. And the practice of appointing Indians as members of the Viceroy's Council began under the provisions of that act. But the number of appointments was very small, they were made by pure nomination, and mostly from among native Chiefs and noblemen many of whom were innocent of English, and as Raja Rampal Singh used to tell us humourously years ago, all that some of them did was to raise their hands when the Viceroy raised his hand to vote on any measure laid before the Council. Besides, such as they were, these members had not the power to do anything more than to express their opinions on the laws and regulations which came up before the Council. It is true that when the measure was under discussion in Parliament, Sir Charles Wood in answer to a question by Mr. Bright had said that a member of the Council would be able to propose a resolution on any question of revenue precisely as they could do in the House of Commons. But no opportunity was given to the members to do so. They were merely to sit and vote at a meeting of the council when some law or regulation had to be passed, If the Indian members of the Council had been larger in number, had been selected from among educated Indians had been allowed to move propositions relating to the revenue, I venture to think that the finances of India would have been better administered than they were. As it was

their presence counted practically for nothing. The administration was carried on entirely according to the will of the Executive Government. It did not protect the interests of the people or promote their prosperity, and naturally gave rise to discontent. When Lord Ripon came, he greatly improved the state of things that existed before him. He introduced many reforms and recognising the value of self-government in promoting prosperity and contentment among a people, introduced the system of local self-government by means of District and Municipal Boards. But so far as the Legislative Councils were concerned, they remained as they were before, except that His Lordship selected his councillors from among the educated classes.

By this time a deep and widespread conviction had gained ground in the minds of educated Indians, that the affairs of this country were not being properly administered, and that they would not be so administered unless and until Indians will be allowed a proper share in the administration. A Congress of Indians representing all classes and communities of India met at Bombay in 1885, and after full deliberation, gave united expression to the general conviction that India would not be well governed unless representative institutions will be given to the country. By its third resolution the Congress declared that it considered the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing

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local Legislative Councils (and the creation of similar Councils for the N.W.P and Oudh and the Punjab) essential. It urged that all budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, and that a standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Council against the exercise by the Executive of the power; which would be vested in it, of over-ruling the decisions of such majorities. The Congress has met since year after year. In the second year of its existence, the Congress declared that it viewed with grave apprehension the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India, and repeated its firm belief that the introduction of representative institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people. In 1891, the Congress re-affirmed its resolutions of previous years and gave emphatic expression to the unanimous conviction of educated Indians, that "India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people prosperous or contented, until they are allowed, through their elected representatives, a potential voice in the legislatures of the country," and urged that no further delay should be permitted in the introduction of this just and necessary reform.

The late Mr. Bradlaugh nobly exposed the cause

of the Congress and took the initiative of introducing a Bill in Parliament to reform the Legislative Councils of this country. The Bill provided that not less than half the members of the Councils should be elected, not more than one-fourth should be ex-officio members, and that the rest may be nominated by Government. But it also provided that the Executive should have the power to veto any resolution passed by a majority of any such Council, and to decide on the expediency of any executive measure the Government might wish to adopt. That Bill was withdrawn as the Government brought in a new bill of their own which was passed in 1892. Under that measure the number of non-official members was increased and provision was made for introducing the principle of representation in the appointment of the members. Since then Municipal and District Boards, acting through their representatives, have been allowed to recommend a few members for nomination to the Provincial Councils and the non-official members of each of these Councils have been allowed to recommend a member for nomination to the Supreme Council. The number of these representative members is however very small, and, what is worse, they are not given the power to propose any resolution, or divide the Council upon the propriety or otherwise of any expenditure which the Government might wish

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to incur. What has been the result? A' certain number of elected Councillors have no doubt taken part in the discussion on the annual financial statements of the Provincial and Supreme Councils. Year after year they have made learned and careful comments upon those statements. But those comments have, generally speaking, ended in nothing. It has been merely an academic dabate. The Government have been absolutely free to reject or adopt any of the suggestions made. The people's representatives have had no real voice in the administration of the country. The result is that to-day more than three-fourths of the entire revenues of India is appropriated to Imperial purposes, and less than one-fourth is spent in all the Provinces of India put together on matters which affect the most vital interests of the people, such as education, sanitation, medical relief, industrial progress, and reform of the judicial and executive administration. What wonder, then, that the people of India should be as poor as they are, and that they should die of plague and famine as they have been dying for years past? It is impossible under the present system for the people to make that moral and material progress which it is essential for them to make, if they are to live and prosper as a people. It is this conviction that led the Congress to ask year after year that this system should be improved by giving the

people a substantial measure of self-government. It is unnecessary to say that the Congress has never asked for anything but a small measure of self-government within the empire. Throughout the many years that the Congress has held its deliberations and passed numerous resolutions, it has never yet asked that the Executive Government should be put in such a position that it should not be able to carry on the administration except in consonance with the opinions of the representatives of the people. All that it has asked is that the constitution should be so improved that such opinion should in all ordinary matters prevail, and that the Executive should have the power of vetoing any decision of the Council whenever it may think it fit to do so. This would clearly be to the benefit of the people, but would not deprive the Executive Government of its final authority.

Under the arrangement that has prevailed so long, there has been a singular and sad absence of the representation of Indian opinion in the administration. Consequently there has been no real check upon that administration. Recognising that the check to be effective must be applied in India, it was urged by the second resolution of the very first Congress that the Council of the Secretary of State, as then constituted, should be abolished as the first measure of reform. Finding that the Council was not going to be abolished,

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the Congress urged that two or three Indians should be appointed as members of the Council. I am glad that Mr. John Morley has had the liberality and broad-mindedness to appoint two Indians to his Council. But I wish he had carried out the suggestion of the Congress to its full extent. The Congress had suggested that the Indian members should be elected by the vote of the non-official members of the Viceroy's Council. If that had been done, these members would have been true representatives of the people and the appointments would have given more satisfaction. We are thankful, however, for what has been done.

The second measure that the Congress has been urging is the appointment of one or two Indian members in the Viceroy's Executive Council. It is unfortunate that this recommendation has not yet been given effect to. But I am thankful to note that Mr. Morley has said that both he and H. E. the Viceroy will be prepared to carry out the suggestion as soon as an opportunity occurs. It is necessary that there should be Indian members in the Executive Councils of the Provincial Governors also. The Congress has more than once urged that there should be Indian members in the Executive Council of the Governors of Bombay and Madras. Let us hope that the principle, which has now been established with regard to the Secretary of State's Council, will make it easy for the

Government to accept these suggestions. It is high time that Provinces which are at present under a Lieutenant-Governor should also be placed under a Governor with an Executive Council, containing some Indian members. How difficult and disadvantageous must be the administration of a large Province like the United Provinces for instance, when it is placed under what is called a one-man rule. You may have a most excellent Lieutenant Governor at one time; but there can be no guarantee that there will be any thing like a continuity of policy kept up under his successors. Besides, there is no Indian advice constitutionally provided for him as regards questions of policy. This must at times lead to very evil results. It is my conviction that if there had been two Indian gentlemen properly selected to advise the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, probably that most deplorable event—the deportation of two of His Majesty's subjects without trial, would not have occurred. If the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had an Executive Council with Indian Members to help him, or if the Viceroy had two Indian Members in his Executive Council, probably that other deplorable event—the partition of Bengal, would not have occurred. Gentlemen, it has been well observed by an eminent writer that “it is a fatal error in all political questions to mistake the clock; to fancy that it is still forenoon, when the sun is westering, that

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it is early morning, when the sun has already mounted high in the heavens." And it is absolutely necessary in the best interests of the Government and the people in this country., that the Government should recognise that times have changed, and that a new spirit has taken possession of the minds of the people. That spirit demands that the administration of the country shall be carried on in consonance with the feelings and opinions of the people, and not in disregard of them. A great change has occurred, and is daily going on, in the sentiments of the people. You find this not only in this country but in other Asiatic countries as well. Japan, which was more backward in many respects than India not many years ago, has taken a front place among the nations of the world. China has risen from its torpor. Persia is waking from her long sleep. Is it possible that the people of India, who have had a glorious past, should show no signs of awakening, and should not desire to take their proper share in the administration of their own country? Is it a sin for Indians to ask for the same powers and privileges as their fellow-subjects in other parts of the British Empire enjoy? If it is not, is it conceivable that anything short of a generous recognition of their reasonable demands can satisfy their aspirations? Every day greater and clearer expression will be given to these desires and greater

impatience will be exhibited in the continuance of a system which does not provide for their fulfilment. The volume of public opinion will be swelling day by day, week by week, year by year, until these aspirations will find their proper satisfaction. In such circumstances it is highly desirable in the interest of the Government as well as of the people that there should be in the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors, Indian members who should be able to correctly and faithfully interpret the wishes and sentiments of the people to the Government and explain the motives and intentions of the Government to the people. Much mis-understanding can be avoided. We know full well that the British Government has been a great blessing to us in the past in many respects, and that it is necessary for our progress in the future for a long time to come. We feel at the same time that the condition under which we can be happy and contented under British rule now, is that our rights,—rights which have been promised to us by the noble Queen and Parliament of England—rights to which we are entitled by virtue of being sons of India.—should be honoured and respected. And we will of course honour and respect the obligations which rest upon us as citizens of a great Empire. The experience gained by many years of agi-

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tation and by a study of the course of events during the last half a century has created a conviction in our minds that these rights will not be duly respected, and our best interests will not be properly promoted, until we obtain a substantial measure of self-government ; until, that is to say, the people's chosen representatives obtain a potential voice in the administration of their affairs. In his admirable address as President of the Congress held at Bombay in 1904, Sir Henry Cotton pointed out that the small measure of representation that had been given to us in the legislatures, was wholly inadequate to meet our demands. He well voiced our desire to see India placed by the gradual development of representation, on a fraternal footing with the self-governing colonies of Great Britain. Speaking as the President of the following Congress at Benares the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, declared that "the goal of the Congress is that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves and that in course of time a form of government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire. And lastly, speaking with the weight of his life-long experience in 1906, the Grand Old Man of India, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, stated it as his conviction that self-government is the only and chief remedy for the whole evil from which

India suffers, and earnestly urged that the statesmen at the helm of the present Government should make "such a systematic beginning as that it may naturally in no long time develop itself into full legislatures of self-government like those of the self-governing colonies." This is then what has to be done if India is to be contented and happy. And in order that this may be done what is it that is most needed? In a speech which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales delivered on his return from India, he was pleased to say that what India requires is sympathy. And, gentlemen, we do not stand in need of anything more urgently at present than that a little more sympathy should be extended to us, that we should be treated as the free subjects of the King Emperor standing on a footing of equality with, and entitled to the same consideration as, his other subjects. The appointment of Indians to the higher ranks of the public service will not then be mainly confined to the judicial department as they at present are,—I may say in passing that we are thankful for the recent appointment of an Indian Judge to the Allahabad High Court,—but the question of the appointment of Indians to the higher ranks of all services, civil and military, executive and judicial, will be easily and fairly solved; and what is of more importance than everything else, our rulers will then be in a position to understand us and our

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requirements better, and to appreciate and introduce those real measures of reform which have become imperatively necessary for the removal of discontent and the promotion of the best interests of good Government.

THE REFORM PROPOSALS

We are thankful that the Government in India and in England have recognised that discontent exists, and have also recognised the necessity of introducing reforms in order to soothe and mitigate that discontent. I have no doubt that you will give your most careful consideration to the proposals for reform which the Government have put forward for public criticism. In doing so, I hope you will remember that our esteemed countrymen, Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, told us only the other day that he believed that India had no truer friends than Mr. John Morley and Lord Minto, (A voice, 'no, no' I don't). Gentlemen, I agree with Mr. Dutt in believing that Mr. Morley and Lord Minto are friendly to us. (A voice, 'no no'). It is absurd for any member to cry out 'no, no' when I am stating my own belief about a matter. Gentlemen, Lord Minto told us last year that he was in sympathy with the aspirations of educated Indians, and wished not merely to meet them but to assist them. Mr. Morley also has recently told us that his heart is with the people of India. (A voice 'certainly not') Mr. Morely is a thoroughly honourable man. He

has committed some great mistakes in the past. It is possible he may commit mistakes even in the future. But the conviction must stand in the minds of those who have followed his career, that he is absolutely honest, (a voice, 'no no'). That being so, you have to seize the opportunity that has been offered to you and place your views before Mr. Morley and Lord Minto in such a clear form that they should be able to realise the true condition and requirements of the country and be able to judge what remedies will be adequate to satisfy the wants and feelings of the people. I have every hope that the comments and criticisms which we may make upon the reform proposals will be received and considered in no unfriendly spirit. It is the duty of every one interested in the welfare of this country to put forward his views regarding the propriety or impropriety, the sufficiency or insufficiency, of the proposals of Government and also to point out what alterations must be made in them to make them suitable to the requirements of the country. In the remarks that I have made in the previous part of my address, I have clearly indicated the lines upon which reform must proceed, if it is to secure the well-being and contentment of the people. I have no desire to anticipate your conclusions by entering into a discussion of the details of the scheme. But I wish with-

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your permission, to offer a few general remarks regarding some important aspects of the proposals.

THE EDUCATED CLASS

Indian public opinion has hitherto been represented by the educated class of India. It is they who have given voice to the wants and feelings of the people and have laboured incessantly for many decades to promote reforms in the administration for the benefit of all classes and communities in the population. Their worth and work have been acknowledged in the Councils and other places by Viceroys, Governors and other high officials of Government. It is therefore most surprising and disappointing to find that the reform proposals of the Government are vitiated by an unmistakable and deplorable exhibition on the part of the Government of hostility towards the educated class. A time there was, and that not long ago, when the Government of India was proud of these products of English education, and pointed to their increasing numbers as evidence of the progress the people were making under British rule; when they acknowledged that they were the best interpreters between the Government and the people. The change of attitude towards the educated class is neither just nor wise. And it cannot be too much regretted that the proposals for reform are based upon, and start with, a desire to create a counterpoise to the influence of that class.

Proposals conceived in such a spirit cannot but be radically unsound and defective.

THE ADVISORY COUNCILS—IMPERIAL AND
PROVINCIAL

Let us take for instance the Imperial Advisory Council. The educated class never wanted a mere Advisory Council, Imperial or Provincial. What they have asked for is a constitutional expansion of the existing Legislative Councils, which should meet under conditions defined by statute where they should be able to give expression to public opinion freely and openly as it is expressed in Parliament, and in the Councils of other civilised countries. The Government say that they find a difficulty as matters stand, in making their measures and motives generally understood, and in correcting erroneous, and often mischievous statements of fact or purpose imputed to them. They complain that the hope that correct information on public affairs might be more widely diffused by means of the right of interpellation granted under the Indian Councils Act 1892, has not been realised. The reason they state is that the Legislative Councils are called together only when there is legislation to be undertaken that their meetings are too infrequent to offer the means of confidential and intimate consultation between Government and its subjects, and that the strict procedure by which they are restrained naturally tends to formality. They

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therefore propose that Advisory Councils should be created with the principal object of supplying a means for such free and close consultation. But the object can be far better served by expanding the Legislative Councils, by holding their meetings more frequently and at defined intervals, by increasing the powers and functions of the Councils and by making their procedure more liberal. Is the constitution and procedure proposed for the Imperial Advisory Council likely to secure the object stated above? The Council is to consist of Ruling Chiefs and territorial magnates. Can it be truly said that they are acquainted with the daily life of the people in British India and qualified to speak with authority on their behalf? Will the Government of India be pleased to say how many of the Ruling Chiefs have thrown any light upon any question of administration concerning British India, or how many of them have helped it with their advice? Were not members of the Imperial Legislative Council selected for a long series of years mostly from among Ruling Chiefs and territorial magnates? Did their appointment prove of any great advantage to the public or the Government? It seemed hitherto that the Government did not attach much weight to their opinions, on the ground that their minds had not been sufficiently illumined by the light of education. And yet the Government of India now propose that there should be

an Imperial Advisory Council consisting only of Ruling Chiefs and territorial magnates! They are all to be nominated by the Viceroy. The Council is to receive no legislative recognition, and is not to be vested with formal powers of any sort, not even the power of making any representation to Government. It is to be convened only at such times and on such occasions as the Government may think proper. Its opinions are to be taken on administrative measures, but the opinions are not to be binding on Government and are not to be published, although Government would be at liberty to make any use of them it may think proper. It is to such a Council that measures affecting the vast mass of the people of British India are to be referred for advice and opinion. And the Government of India seriously tell us that they consider that the establishment of such a Council will be "a marked step in constitutional progress." Gentlemen, England has long proclaimed her belief to the world that constitutional progress must be based on the principle of real representation. In the English Parliament, every section of the community finds representation and speaks through its accredited representatives. If the Government of India desire that there should be representatives of every class in the Councils of the Empire,—we certainly desire that this should be so,—the right course for it to adopt is to expand

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the Legislative Councils, and to constitute them on such a basis that they will include the real representatives of all classes that require to be represented. Advisory Councils such as are proposed cannot secure that end. It is apprehended that if they are constituted in the manner proposed, they may be used as a counterpoise to diminish the weight which should be attached to the opinions of educated Indians expressed in the Viceroy's Council and the Provincial Councils. If the proposal to create them is not abandoned, as it ought to be, I hope the Government will modify their constitution in many material respects to make them less objectionable than they would be as they are proposed, and to make them possibly useful. There should be no Ruling Chief in these Councils. A separate Council might well be established for them, somewhat of the type suggested by the Congress when the late Maharaja of Jhallawar was deposed, to advise the Governor-General on questions which may arise between the Government of India and the native Chiefs. It would be a means of satisfying any desire that the Ruling Chiefs may feel to have a voice in the administration of the Empire, so far as it affects them or their States, particularly if such a Council would be at least partly elected by them. If this is not done, then, so far as British India is concerned, the presence of Ruling Chiefs on the

Imperial Advisory Council, if agreeable to them, will only serve to weaken the usefulness of the institution.

So far as territorial magnates are concerned, they certainly do not deserve greater importance than the representatives of trade and industry, and the middle and professional classes generally. If the Advisory Council must be created, these classes ought to have a representation equal at least to that of the territorial magnates ; its constitution and functions should be defined by Statute, and to make it useful and acceptable to the public, provision should be made for giving effect to its advice and opinions.

The remarks I have made above apply generally to the proposed Provincial Advisory Councils also. But the case for creating them is even weaker than for the Imperial Advisory Council. If there were no Legislative Councils in existence, I could well understand the need for an Advisory Council. But when the Government have for the last fifty years recognised the wisdom of having an Imperial Legislative Council for the whole of India, and similar Councils, possessing more limited powers, for every large Province of India ; when they have in the past recognised the wisdom of expanding these Councils and of investing them with increasing functions and powers ; when public opinion has been demanding a further expansion of these Councils, and a still greater enlargement

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of their powers, it comes as a sad surprise to us that the Government should, instead of graciously proceeding to promote the natural development of these constitutional institutions, seriously put forward proposals to create Councils whose existence, composition, procedure and work will depend entirely upon the will of the Executive Government, uncontrolled by the voice of the people. This is not progress but retrogression. We cannot congratulate the Government upon these proposals. It is earnestly to be hoped that they will, on maturer consideration, be abandoned.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

If they are not abandoned, it is certain that they will stand in the way of the natural and proper development of the Legislative Councils, which is the great reform which is called for in the best interests of the people and the Government. I venture to think that the proposals of the Government of India regarding the enlargement of the Councils, would have been more liberal if there had been no proposal to create Advisory Councils. They have been further vitiated by some wrong underlying considerations. Amongst these is the bias against the educated class and the consequent desire to create a counterprise to their influence about which I have already spoken. It seems to me partly at least a result of this bias, that the

Government have been led to propose to introduce race, class and religious representation in the Councils in place of the territorial representation which has hitherto worked with success. If there has been any complaint under the system, it has been due to the fact that the number of seats open to election has been extremely small. If the number of such seats is sufficiently increased, as we have long been urging that it should be, then, without any provision being made for class representation, each class will be better represented than it can be at present. We have nothing to complain if adequate representation is secured to any particular community of our countrymen in the Council. We are only anxious that every other community also should receive its proper share of representation. I hope it will not be possible in the altered spirit of the times in India for any scheme of class or religious representation to create a real split between the different communities. But it is desirable all the same that the Government should base its proposals on a correct principle, and that principle can only be strict impartiality towards all classes of His Majesty's subjects. A policy of partiality to one class, and prejudice against another will be most unwise and unsafe. It will certainly not allay discontent or promote good government. So far as we, Congressmen, are concerned we have never sought to further any

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class interests and never will. We have always desired "to win within the limits of the constitution, the most perfect equality and right for all." We recognise, as Mr. Bradlaugh told us in his memorable address to the Congress at Bombay, that with all our race traditions and caste views and religious differences, "in a great empire like ours we all have the right of equality before the law for all, equality of opportunity for all, penalty on none, favouritism to none." We feel that the Government also cannot do better in its own interests or in the interests of the people, than promote these large aims. If it wishes to do so, it should not show any partiality towards any one section of the people, or hostility to any other. It should also not show any such prejudice against any class, as for instance, it has shown against lawyers. The Government complain that the lawyers have formed the predominant element among the non-official members in the Councils. If this is so, I think the lawyers deserve to be thanked for having devoted so much of their time and energy to the service of the public. It ought to be remembered that they have no special interests of their own to protect or promote. The measures that have come before the Councils have concerned the community as a whole, or some large portion of the community, and in dealing with them, as also in pressing for reforms, the lawyers in the Councils have shown that they are

anxious to promote the good of all classes of the people. The lawyer has advocated the cause of the zemindar for a permanent settlement. He has pleaded for a fixity of tenure for the tenants. The lawyer has pleaded for the remission of the salt-tax to benefit the poorest classes. He has pleaded for the raising of the taxable minimum for the Income-tax from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, not because he suffered any hardship but because it pressed heavily on a large number of his poorer countrymen. The lawyer has year after year drawn the attention of the Government to the growing impoverishment of the people and has urged the adoption of measures of amelioration and improvement, not from considerations of any personal interest but in order that the people may be saved from misery and destruction, and the ends of good Government may be promoted. If the lawyer has not been able to discharge his duty to his country and to the Government better, it is because opportunities have been withheld from him, and not because he has been fettered by any selfish or class considerations. Let the lawyer be excluded from the Councils for making laws so far as the choice of the Government is concerned. But let the people be free to choose a representative of their own choice and not be compelled to elect from within a circle prescribed by Government. As a wellwisher of his country, the lawyer is concerned only with this, that the representa-

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tives of the people should be men who are qualified by their intelligence, knowledge, experience, and independence of judgment to discuss those public questions which are, or may be, brought before the Councils, with the most capable members of the Indian Civil Service whom the Government appoint to the Councils, and to express and maintain the popular view before them. By the people's choice being limited, as the Government propose to limit it, the danger is that men who have not received sufficient education, or are not otherwise qualified, may be put on the Councils to the disadvantage of the community as a whole. Let landholders, cultivators, traders and professional men have the power to vote at the election of a representative in the district where they reside. But let no one be bound to elect a member from the class to which he himself may belong.

But perhaps the most objectionable feature of the proposals of Government is the principle of a standing official majority in the Councils. The Government seem to be under the impression that unless they have a standing majority of their own officials in the Councils, the power of governing the empire would pass out of their hands. If they had not expressed this in plain words in their letter, I would not have believed that they were capable of seriously taking such a view. After tating that they consider it essential that the Government should always be able to reckon on a numerical

majority, they say: "The principle of a standing majority is accepted by the Government as an entirely legitimate and necessary consequence of the nature of the paramount power in India, and, so far as they know, it has never been disputed by any section of Indian opinion that does not dispute the legitimacy of the paramount power itself. That is not an open question and if two men are not able to wield one sceptre, it is idle to dissemble that fact in constructing political machinery." Gentlemen, it fairly took my breath away when I read this. The Government are entitled to say that they regard the principle of a standing majority 'as an entirely legitimate and necessary consequence of the nature of the paramount power in India.' We humbly beg, however, to differ. We fail to see that the principle is either a legitimate or a necessary consequence of the nature of the paramount power in India. But what we are surprised at is that the Government have solemnly stated that, so far as they know, the principle of a standing majority "has never been disputed by any section of Indian opinion that does not dispute the legitimacy of the paramount power itself." The Government of India ought to know that the vast body of educated Indian opinion has repeatedly asked through the Indian National Congress that the Legislative Council should be so reformed that it would be possible to have a majority of non-official members in them,

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who may not vote, on all occasions exactly as the Government may desire. It was by the third resolution of the very first Congress that met at Bombay that such a reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils was demanded. That same resolution provided that "a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protest that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of over-ruling the decision of such majorities." This resolution was moved by the late Hon'ble Mr. Telang, who subsequently became a Judge of the Bombay High Court, was seconded by the Hon'ble Sir (then Mr.) Subramania Iyer, who was subsequently appointed a Judge of the Madras High Court, and was supported by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. The same proposal was year after year supported at subsequent Congresses by some of the most honoured Indians and Europeans in the country, and carried by the unanimous votes of the representatives of the most enlightened Indian thought drawn from all parts of India. Surely it cannot be said of these gentlemen that in making the proposal in question, they disputed the legitimacy of the British supremacy in India or that they desire that there should be "two men" "to wield one sceptre" in India. The Congress has deliberately asked for the possi-

bility of a non-official majority in the Councils, because without it there would not even be a possibility of any real check being exercised by the representatives of the people over the action of the Executive either in matters of finance or general administration. If that is not to be, gentlemen, if, that is to say, the official members are always to be in a majority, no reform of the Legislative Councils based on this principle will meet the requirements of the country or satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people of India. Besides this, when it is provided that the Governor-General will have the power of vetoing any proposition that may be passed by the Council, I fail to see the necessity of having a numerical majority of official members in the Council. It has been laid down by a former Secretary of State for India that official members are bound to vote with the Government, and it has often happened that the official members have voted in one solid majority in favour of every measure which the Government desired to be carried, and against every proposition which they disapproved. The action of the official members, does not on such occasions deceive any one, and it does not enhance them or the Government in the estimation of the public. The formality of such voting might well be dispensed with. If they must vote with the executive it is unnecessary to draw officials away from their proper work, to the Viceroy's Council merely to record

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their votes. The Viceroy, having the power of veto, might stand for twenty-one official members as for one. But if the representation of the people in the Councils is to have any real effect and meaning, it is essential that there should not be a standing official majority in the Council, and that it should be possible to have a free expression of the opinion of the majority upon questions of policy or the desirability of an increase or decrease of expenditure under different heads. Power must also be given to the members to submit or propose resolutions and to divide the Council in respect of any financial discussion, or the answer to any question asked, and also to ask supplementary questions. Unless a voice is given to the people even in this very restricted form in the administration of the affairs of the country, no reform which may be introduced will be worth the name.

This wrong principle of a standing official majority has already had this evil result that it has imposed upon the Government the necessity of limiting the number of non-official members, and has made it impossible for the Government to provide for the due representation, within the narrow limits thus imposed, of the vast diversity of interests which require representation. Let that principle be abandoned, and let the number of non-official members be fairly increased so as to secure adequate representation to

the vast millions of the people in the Council where questions affecting their most vital interests are discussed and decided. The Congress suggested many years ago that there should be one non-official member for every five millions of the population. That will not give us too large a Legislative Council for the Indian Empire. If however the Government cannot make up their mind to fix that number, let them fix it a little lower. But let not the number of persons who are to represent the wants and grievances of the people in the Council, be determined by the number of the officials whom the Government can spare from their work, to sit and vote, when an occasion may arise for it, with the Government against the non-official members.

As regards the Provincial Legislative Councils, there is even less need in them for a standing official majority. The Governor will, of course, have the power of veto in them, as well as in the Imperial Legislative Council. Besides this, the matters that come before Provincial Legislative Councils are not of Imperial importance. For instance, proposals relating to the Army, foreign relations, mint and coinage, the public debt, the Post Office and the Telegraph, etc., do not come within the purview of the Provincial Councils. The matters that do come before them relate to domestic administration, to education, sanitation, provincial public works, the improvement of

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agriculture and trade, the development of the Provinces, etc. There can be no possible injury done if a majority of the members of the Provincial Council are given a chance to propose and carry any resolution on such questions even against the views of the Executive Government. The principle of an official majority should, therefore, in their case be unhesitatingly abandoned, and the number of non-official members should be fixed at such a figure that adequate representation may be secured to the varied interests of the Provinces. Is it too much to ask that one non-official member for every million of the population should be regarded as the minimum number of representatives on the Provincial Councils? Surely every district represents a sufficiently large area and population to require one elected representative to voice its wants and grievances in the Council which deals with questions which immediately affect the moral and material progress of the district. Let us hope that this minimum will be adopted.

THE DECENTRALISATION COMMISSION

The terms of appointment of the Decentralisation Commission showed that the inquiry entrusted to it would be sufficiently comprehensive. It was to inquire what changes are necessary in the system of Government to make it "better adapted both to meet the requirements and promote the welfare of the different

provinces and to bring the executive power into closer touch with local conditions." But the questions laid down by the Commission for the guidance of witnesses and the answers which have been permitted to be made, have shown that the Commission wants to deal mainly with the question of what administrative powers may be delegated to subordinate authorities for instance, by the Government of India to the local Governments, to Commissioners of Divisions, and so on. The larger question, of the decentralisation of real financial power from the Government of India to the different Provincial Governments, in such a manner as to make them more independent and more responsible, has not, I fear, received sufficient attention from the Commission. And yet nothing is more imperatively necessary "to meet the requirements and promote the welfare of the different provinces" than such decentralisation. The financial administration of the entire country is at present really in the hands of the Governor-General in Council. The Local Governments are merely delegates of the Supreme Government and exercise no independent power. They are permitted by the Government of India to appropriate a certain portion of the revenues of the Provinces for expenditure within the Provinces, and the measure of that apportionment is determined by the Government of India. Under this system the Government of India

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have commanded the financial resources of the whole country, and have used those resources a great deal too liberally for building up 'a magnificent empire'. The expenditure on the army and other 'Imperial purposes' has increased by leaps and bounds, while the allowances and assignments made to Provincial Governments for purposes of domestic progress, have been all too small to meet their requirements. Almost every Provincial Government has found, and complained, that the assignments made to it are not sufficient to meet its needs. The last quasi-permanent settlements have somewhat improved the position. But they still leave the Provincial Governments in a weak and unsatisfactory position so far as the finances of the Provinces are concerned. Unless a radical change is brought about in the relations of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, I fear, that an adequate portion of the taxes paid by the people will not be spent on purposes which directly benefit them. To bring this about, it is necessary that the Government of India should content itself with keeping its control over all 'Imperial heads' of revenue, should leave not only all 'provincial heads' but also all 'shared heads' to Provincial Governments, and should require the Provincial Governments to make a contribution, based on some definite and reasonable principle, to meet Imperial expenditure not covered by Imperial receipts. That expenditure ought also to be

largely reduced. The Governments of the Provinces should be free to appropriate the increase from all the Provincial heads and to devote the rest of their revenues to promote the development of the Provinces. If the Government of India should continue to appropriate as much of the revenues of our Provinces for Imperial purposes as it does at present, we shall never have enough funds to make that advance in moral and material progress which we so badly stand in need of. We in the United Provinces have suffered most under the existing system. While we have made the largest contributions to the Imperial Exchequer, the allotments made to us have been proportionately smaller than those made to other Provinces. We have consequently had less to spend on education, on sanitation, and on every other matter that can directly affect the welfare of our people. The result is that although these Provinces were foremost in introducing a system of primary education, they now lag behind every other Province of India, and have to bear the reproach of being called the benighted provinces. So also in the matter of sanitation. The Government of India passed a Village Sanitation Act years ago. But how can you promote sanitation without sufficient funds? And what is the state of sanitation in these provinces? Even a sufficient number of wells to provide pure water for the people have yet to be

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brought into existence. As regards an efficient system of drainage, with one or two exceptions, even our large towns have not yet been blessed with it. From one end of the provinces to the other, there is not one municipality which does not stand in need of larger funds for sanitation ; there is not one District Board which does not require to spend three times as much as it does at present on any of the many matters entrusted to its care. The welfare of the people demands that the basis of the financial relations that exist between the Government of India and the Local Governments should be altered. The Local Governments should be made in a way semi-independent of the Government of India, free to collect and spend their revenues, subject to the obligation of making a rateable contribution to the Government of India, a potential voice being of course given to the representatives of the people to control the action of the Local Government by a reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils, and the appointment of Indian members in the Executive Councils of the Provinces. If such a decentralisation of the financial administration is not brought about the other measures of reform will not effect half as much good as they will if the Provincial Governments are permitted to appropriate a sufficient portion of their own revenues to provincial purposes.

· I have endeavoured to indicate the basic changes

which seem to be necessary to make the proposals for reform beneficial and acceptable to the people. I have also stated what in my opinion is the most important decentralisation of power called for in the interests of the people. I have no doubt that you will make suggestions for alteration and improvement in details after you have discussed these proposals. And I hope that the scheme which will eventually be determined upon by the Government of India, after it has duly considered all the suggestions laid before it, will be such as will be calculated to satisfy the reasonable aspirations of the educated classes and to promote the prosperity of the masses of the people. It is fervently to be hoped that it will be so. For if it should unfortunately happen to be otherwise, I fear that discontent will continue to grow and will deepen. It is desirable as much in the interests of good administration as of the people, that good relations should subsist between the Government and the people; and nothing will more powerfully conduce to that end than that the measures of reform which have become necessary owing to the changes that have been going on in the country, should be conceived and carried out in a spirit of true sympathy with the people, and in conformity with the high and noble principles laid down by Parliament and in the Proclamation of the Queen. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, before I close my address, I wish,

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with your permission, to address a few words to you in regard to the work we ourselves have to do. Let us clearly realise the situation so far as the prospects of reform are concerned. The Government are in a mood to consider what measures will satisfy our requirements and our natural aspirations, and we are called upon to make our wants and wishes fully known to them. The condition of the people to which I have drawn attention shows how great is the necessity of doing the utmost that lies in our power to get real reforms introduced in order that that condition may be improved. It also shows how much work lies to be done by us independently of the Government to ameliorate the condition of our people. As regards the first kind of work, I need hardly tell you that merely expressing opinions, even at such a representative conference as this is, upon the measures proposed by Government will not be sufficient. The British Government in India is carried on, to a certain extent, on the same principles as the Government in England; it is, at least, supposed to be. But in order that our representations should carry weight it is necessary for us to create as large a body of public opinion in favour of the proposals we may put forward as may be possible. When the Congress was brought into existence by that great friend of India to whom we owe an immense debt of endless gratitude, I need hardly name, Mr. A.O. Hume, (*cheers*),

those of you who belong to the older generation will remember that our political work was not confined to merely passing resolutions at the Congress. Mr. Hume realised from the outset that the claim of the Congress to speak in the name of the people should be supported by showing that there was a large volume of public opinion behind the Congress. District Committees were organised, pamphlets were distributed, lecturers went about explaining the aims and objects of the Congress to the people and enlisting their sympathy and support. This work of political education and propaganda was done for some time in the early years of the Congress, but it has not been carried on in recent years. The result has been that our representations have lacked that strength which they would possess if the voice of the Congress were swelled by an ever-increasing volume of public opinion not merely in towns but even in the villages. In criticising Mr. Gokhale, the *Pioneer* said not long ago that he expressed the opinion of only a fraction of the population. This was of course not correct if that paper meant that the changes and reforms Mr. Gokhale advocated would not be acceptable to the masses. But we must admit at the same time that as a matter of fact only a fraction of the population has yet been permeated by the Congress ideas. If you desire that criticisms of this kind should cease to be

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levelled against our representatives, and that public opinion should daily grow in strength and volume in order to make itself felt in the counsels of the Government it is our duty to disseminate sound and correct views on public questions among the masses. It is extremely important that this work should be systematically and regularly done, and that our people should know what are the reforms we are agitating for to improve their condition, and should join and support us in that work. For this purpose, it is necessary that we should keep up a central Provincial organisation, and that local associations should be formed in every District. It is necessary that all these associations should do their work throughout the year. Of course we have to take care that we propagate only correct and sound ideas of constitutional reform. But it is our duty to do so, and to get the masses to understand the questions we want to interest them in, so that in all the representations we may make to the Government, we should be able to show that there is a large volume of opinion behind us, even among the masses of the people. Some of you may remember that when Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill was before the Parliament, petitions signed by hundreds of thousands of people were sent to the House of Commons. It is desirable that on the present occasion also our representations should be supported by thousands of

numerously signed petitions from all parts of the country to be submitted to the Secretary of State. All this talk that the educated classes do not represent anybody but themselves will disappear when the masses of the people will send up petitions on matters they are interested in. I would therefore request you again and again to organise your provincial and district and tehsil associations in order that the questions we discuss should be properly understood by the people and that we should be properly supported by them.

Then, gentlemen, it is also essential that we should do all that is possible to be done independently of these representations to Government to serve our people. In the matter of education, sanitation, of the improvement of justice and the development of the district, etc., we must send up our representations to Government and ask them to spend more and more of the public funds for the welfare of the people. But we must not think that our duty comes to an end there. There is a great deal which we can do without approaching the Government, and I earnestly appeal to you to address yourself to this kind of work in a larger degree than you have done in the past. The matters in which we can serve our countrymen without the help of Government are numerous. I may mention only a few here. There is the question of defending poor people in cases which are sometimes

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brought falsely against them. Several of these poor people go undefended and consequently gross injustice is done to them. Cases of police oppression occur in almost every district. If you create an organisation in every district to defend the poor man, you will help many a humble fellowman to save his life and liberty. In the matter of sanitation, too, we can do a great deal to disseminate correct ideas among the people, and to offer help to them in their troubles. Many of us, who are living in happy circumstances, can hardly imagine what the insanitary surroundings in which the vast mass of the people are living mean. To a vast number of people they mean life-long misery and premature death due to preventable diseases. It is not enough that we should ask the Government to spend more money on sanitation. Let us also show our earnestness by actually endeavouring to disseminate correct ideas of sanitation among the people and by promoting public health, so far as lies in our power.

Education lies at the root of all reforms. We have been asking the Government for years to spend more and more upon education, and must continue to do so because the amount of public funds spent upon education in these Provinces is extremely inadequate. There is, however, a great deal more which we can do to promote education, both general and technical. Not even

ten per cent of our boys and girls of the school-going age are being educated in all the Government and private schools in these Provinces. Even primary education has to be provided for over ninety per cent of our school-going population. Let us therefore start as many schools as we possibly can in our cities, towns and villages to secure the advantages of education to our people. Let us form ourselves into a committee to find out the educational wants of various parts of the provinces and to consider how they may be provided for. We may at least form a committee in every district to promote education within the district. You will find that all the funds that we may raise will not be sufficient for our purposes. But that does not mean that we should not do as much as we can. The first and the most important thing needed is a fund of real earnest, active sympathy with our fellowmen, and an unbending determination to do whatever we honestly can to promote their welfare. If you start with this fund, I am sure, gentlemen, a great deal can be done to promote the progress of education. Let us acknowledge with gratitude the benefits of the system of education which has been in vogue in this country for the last fifty years. It has produced men like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Gurudas Banerji, the late Mr. Telang, Mr. Ranade, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee and many other illustrious sons of India. It has crea-

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ted all the new life which is stirring our people, and which has inspired us with national aims and aspirations. The system has undoubtedly its defects. Let us try to remove them so far as we can by making the education imparted under it more national, and more conducive to the development of character and public spirit. Let us also remember that the extent of the education given is unfortunately too limited, and let us try to supplement existing schools by as many independent schools and colleges of our own as we may be able to start and maintain. Remember that even in England, which is so rich and so far ahead of us in the matter of education, Sir Norman Lockyer, when addressing the people not long ago on education, did not content himself with asking the Government alone to spend a great deal more on education, but exhorted the public also to subscribe liberally in order to meet the requirements of national education. We do not occupy a position one-tenth so advantageous as England; and therefore it is all the more necessary that we should put our own shoulders whole heartedly to the wheel, and devise a system of education—technical, scientific and industrial—in all parts of the Provinces, which may be calculated, along with the existing Government system, to meet the requirements of the country.

Gentlemen, the importance and necessity of edu-

cation cannot be overstated. At the bottom of much of the poverty lies the ignorance of the people. In the words of a great writer 'no real economic or social development of a people is possible without the education of the masses. Such education is the foundation and necessary antecedent of increased economic activity in all branches of national production, in agriculture, small industries, manufactures and commerce,' and it is therefore the most solemn duty we owe to our people to promote education to the best extent we can. Along with this education, we have to endeavour to promote industrial enterprise and indigenous manufactures. Owing to a combination of circumstances we are at this moment placed in a very unfortunate position so far as our industries are concerned. The nations of Europe, and especially England, have acquired an advantage over us in the preservation and promotion of national industries. England pours in the product of her industries into India. Indian industries have been destroyed by the competition of England and other countries, to a larger measure than many of us have any conception of. The result is that a large number of our non-agricultural people have been thrown out of work and have been driven to seek a subsistence from the soil. It has now been generally recognised that in order to mitigate the sufferings of the people, and to secure them a means of livelihood

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indigenous arts and industries must be promoted. In England and other western countries they have this additional advantage over us that they have been working their industries for years together on scientific lines, and with an abundance of capital in their hands. We are not and we cannot for some time be, in a position to compete successfully with them. The Government, though it has expressed its desire to promote indigenous arts and industries, will not impose a protective duty on foreign manufactures to help our manufactures. We have therefore to promote the Swadeshi movement as much as we can in order to find food for the hungry and clothes for the naked among our countrymen. This is a question the full importance of which it is difficult to realise unless one goes thoroughly into it. It has been my belief for the 'past twenty-five years, that every little product of the Indian handloom purchased by us, puts a little money into the hand of some poor countryman of ours. I therefore look upon it as a religious duty to purchase an article of indigenous make whenever we can get it, and even at a sacrifice if we can afford to make it, in preference to an article of foreign make. But, gentlemen, while we must do all that lies in us to encourage the use of indigenous manufactures, let us remember that this alone will not be sufficient. We must for that purpose also do whatever may be in our power to increase

the production of Indian manufactures. This we can do by starting handloom factories and factories for producing other articles which come to us from foreign countries. In these Provinces some factories have been started and some encouragement given to indigenous enterprise. I refer to the factory which is working under Mr. Sherring at Barabanki, and factories which have been started at Agra, Aligarh and other places. But it must be acknowledged that we have not combined our energies and our capital sufficiently to give industrial enterprise a real start and to help forward the development of Indian arts and manufactures. Let me hope that we shall do our duty in this direction better in the near future.

I will next invite your attention to the improvement of agriculture. It must have occurred to some of you, as it has occurred to me, that those of us who have leisure can, if we will, disseminate a volume of useful information in the matter of the scientific improvement of agriculture among our people. If we will endeavour to contribute this information as our share towards that improvement I assure you a great deal of good will be done. Then there is the question of Co-operative Credit Societies—a movement fraught with great possibilities. Co-operative Banks have been a source of immense happiness to people in Germany, Austria and other countries. They have brought in plenty where there

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was poverty. They have helped the poor man to keep out of the clutches of the moneylender. In western countries 'hundreds of thousands of labouring and cultivating folk, small tradesmen and small dealers steadily raise themselves from year to year in the social scale with the help of their Co-operative Banks.' The Co-operative Union has helped the middle class poor to build or possess nearly forty-seven thousand houses. Here then is one great means of ameliorating the condition of our people. The Government deserve our thanks for having started and encouraged the work. As you know there is a Registrar of co-operative Credit Societies in these Provinces, and there are a number of societies at work in several districts under him. I beg of you to think what a world of good we can do to our people by promoting a knowledge of the principles of co-operative banking, co-operative housing and co-operative credit and stores among them. We can help them to realise in this the true value of self-help, and help them to promote by their own combined efforts, sanitation, education and industrial enterprise among them. The vastness of the good work which can thus be done cannot be exaggerated. I trust you will devote as much time and attention to this question as you can.

Another important matter to which I may invite your attention is the question of arbitration. This is

not a new idea. Some of you are aware that nearly twenty-six years ago, Mr. Ranade, Sir William Wedderburn and other gentlemen put forward a definite scheme to encourage arbitration. Since that time many other well-wishers of the people, Europeans as well as Indians have from time to time urged that the evils of litigation should be put down by means of arbitration. Some caste conferences have also passed resolutions to that effect. But I am sorry to say that very little has been actually done in the matter. Those of us who practise in law courts have got some idea of the amount of perjury which is practised in civil and criminal cases. We also know how great is the amount of money spent in litigation and that many are the families that have been ruined by litigation. All this is very easy to explain to the people; but to check litigation and to promote arbitration, it is necessary that regular and systematic efforts should be made to create a public opinion against litigation among the people in the villages and in the towns and to constitute tribunals or *panchayats* of the people which will inspire confidence in their minds. If efforts are made to prevent matters going to courts when they can be settled in the villages, much progress can be made in this direction.

Gentlemen, I cannot conclude without drawing your attention to the question of physical culture. This

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question has been attracting some attention of late. To every one who has been studying the condition of the people, it must be a matter of pain to find that there is a deterioration of physique going on all round among us. We do not meet with the strongly built broad-shouldered man as often now as we used to do twenty-five years ago. There has been a regrettable abandonment of the useful practice of physical culture which was handed down to us by our forefathers. In my own time I have noticed a great unwillingness on the part of many a young man to take to physical exercise. The Government has provided for physical exercise in its schools and colleges, but full advantage is not taken of it, nor is much desire shown anywhere to do anything more in the direction thereof than has to be done at schools. The example of the higher classes has its influence on the middle classes, and it is regrettable to find that even among them, the taste for physical exercise has perceptibly diminished. The result is that this want of physical culture is aggravating the economic weakness of our people so far as plague and famine are concerned. The people are not as strong as they used to be and succumb to disease much more easily. It is necessary that we should do something to revive at least as much interest in, and taste for, physical exercise as was generally to be seen even thirty years ago. This is a matter in

which success can easily be achieved by co-operation. There are school and college tournaments, and students might be encouraged by their parents, guardians and friends to devote a little more attention to them. But even those who have passed out of schools and colleges may well devote a little more time and attention to the preservation or promotion of a healthy and strong physique. It is pleasing to see English gentlemen of the age of sixty and more taking part every day in tennis, badminton, cricket or some other exercise. Let us adopt a similar good practice. The deterioration of the national physique which is going on is a matter of serious concern and it is for the higher classes to show an example in this matter by paying more attention to physical culture. In this connection I should have liked to say something about some social customs which require reform but there is no time to dwell on them.

In conclusion, I would earnestly request you not to be content with merely passing resolutions here, but to organize associations to carry on political work throughout the year and to educate public opinion on all questions of public interest. I would request you to form associations to promote sanitation, education, and industrial advancement ; to further the co-operative movement, arbitration and physical culture. Lastly, I would request you to remember that the true happi-

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ness of the people which we all wish to promote, cannot be secured by material advantages alone, and that all the material advantages which are worth having can be best obtained by observing the eternal duties of man towards man which are imposed upon us by our religion. Indeed there is nothing more desirable than that the whole of our work should be done in a truly religious spirit. If we are not prompted by a sense of religious duty, our interest in the work which we may undertake will not be abiding. But if we start with the conviction that it is our duty to God to serve him through his humble creatures—our poor countrymen, then, come what may through ill repute and though good repute, whether others help us or hinder us, we will continue to the last to do our duty to promote the well being of our people as best we can, and, I have an abiding faith, that God will bless our efforts with success (Prolonged applause.)

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The following is the presidential address delivered by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at the Indian National Congress held at Lahore in 1909.

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES & GENTLEMEN :—

When I received intimation in a rather out of the way place in the mofussil where I was engaged in professional work, that some committees had very kindly nominated me for election as president of the Congress, as there was no time to be lost in the matter I wired to my honoured friend Mr. Wacha, the General Secretary of the Congress to inform him that I was too weak from the effect of a recent illness, as I am sorry to say I am still, to be able to undertake the duties and responsibilities of the high office of President of the Congress. I need hardly say, ladies and gentlemen, that it was not that I did not fully appreciate the high honour which it was proposed to confer upon me. The presidentship of the Congress as has often been said, is the highest honour that can come to any Indian. But I was not cheered up at the prospect of receiving it, because I honestly believed that I did not deserve it. I knew how unworthy I was to occupy the chair which

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had been filled in the past by a succession of eminently able and distinguished men who had established their title to the esteem and the confidence of their countrymen long before they were called on to preside over this great National Assembly of India. Besides this general consideration, I had present to my mind the special fact that I would be required to fill the chair which Congressmen all over the country and the public at large had been expecting would be graced by that distinguished countryman of ours, who towers above others by his commanding ability and influence, I need hardly name Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, and I felt that the election of a humble soldier from the ranks such as I am to step into the breach created by the retirement of such a veteran leader, could but deepen the already deep disappointment and regret felt all over the country by his resignation of this office. In addition to all this I could not forget that with the exception of a single short speech I had never in my life been able to write out a speech and I could not expect, especially when there were hardly six days left before me to do it, to be able to write out anything like an address which is expected from the Presidential chair of the Congress. But ladies and gentlemen, all my objections, expressed and implied, were overruled, and such as I am, I am here, in obedience to the mandate issued under your authority to serve you and our motherland as best I may,

SPEECHES OF PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

relying on the grace of God and the support of all my brother-Congressmen. This fact cannot however, diminish, it rather deepens, the gratitude which I feel to you for the signal honour you have conferred upon me in electing me as your President at this juncture. I thank you for it from the very bottom of my heart and Babu Surendranath Banerjea and other esteemed friends for the kind words they have spoken of me. You will agree with me when I say that no predecessor of mine ever stood in need of greater indulgence and more unstinted support from the Congress than I do I trust you will extend it to me with the same generosity and kindly feeling with which you have voted me to this exalted office.

MESSRS. LAL MOHAN GHOSE AND R. C. DUTT

Before I proceed to deal with other matters, it is my painful but sacred duty to offer a tribute of respect to the memory of two of the past Presidents of the Congress and of one distinguished benefactor of the country whom the hand of death has removed from our midst. In the death of Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose we mourn the loss of one of the greatest orators that India has produced. Of his matchless eloquence it is not necessary for me to speak. He combined with it a wonderful grasp of great political questions, and long before the Congress was born he employed his

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great gifts in pleading the cause of his country before the tribunal of English public opinion. The effect which his eloquent advocacy produced on the minds of our fellow-subjects in England was testified to by no less eminent a man than John Bright, the great tribune of the English people. To Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose will always belong the credit of having been the first Indian who made a strenuous endeavour to get admission into the great Parliament of England. It is sad to think that his voice will not be heard any more either in asserting the rights of his countrymen to equality of treatment with their European fellow-subjects or in chastening those who insult them, after the manner of his memorable Decca Speech.

Even more poignant and profound has been the regret with which the sad news of the death of Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt has been received throughout the country. Mr. Dutt has had the glory of dying in the service of his motherland. It is not for me to dwell here on the varied and high attainments and of the various activities of a life which was so richly distinguished by both. Time would not permit of my referring to Mr. Dutt's work on the Decentralisation Commission, or in Baroda, or to his numerous contributions to literature, history and economics. But I cannot omit to mention his contributions to the vernacular literature of Bengal. Mr. Dutt recognised with

the true insight of a statesman that to build up a nation it was necessary to create a national literature, and he made rich and copious contributions to the vernacular of his province. An able administrator, a sagacious statesman, a distinguished scholar, a gifted poet, a charming novelist, a deep student of Indian history and economics, and above all, a passionate lover of his country who united to noble pride and deep reverence for its glorious past, a boundless faith in the possibilities of its future, and laboured for its realisation up to the last moments of his life. Mr. Dutt was a man of whom any country might be proud. It was no small tribute to his work and worth that that prince of patriots, the Gaekwar, chose him for his advisor and found in him a man after his heart. Grievous would have been the loss of such a man at any time; it is a national calamity that he should be taken away from us at a time when his country stood so much in need of his sober counsel and wise guidance.

DEATH OF LORD RIPON

• Last but not least do we mourn the loss of the greatest and most beloved Viceroy whom India has known—I need hardly name the noble Marquis of Ripon. Lord Ripon was loved and respected by educated Indians as, I believe, no Englishman who has ever been connected with India, excepting the father of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Allen

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Octavius Hume, and Sir Willian Wedderburn, has been loved and respected. Lord Ripon was loved because he inaugurated that noble scheme of local self-Government which though it has never yet had fair trial was intended by his Lordship to train Indians for the very best form of government, namely a government of the people by itself, which it has been the proudest privilege of Englishmen to establish in their own land and to teach all other civilised nations to imitate. He was respected because he made the most courageous attempt to act up to the spirit of the noble Proclamation of 1858 to obliterate race distinctions and to treat his Indian fellow-subjects as standing on a footing of equality with their European fellow-subjects. He was respected because he was a

“ Statesman, yet friend to truth, of soul sincere.

. In actions right ”

He was respected because he was a God-fearing man and showed by his conduct in the exalted office he filled as Viceroy of India, that he believed in the truth of the saying that righteousness exalteth a nation. He was loved because he was a type of the noblest of Englishmen who have an innate love of justice, and who wish to see the blessings of liberty which they themselves enjoy, extended to all their fellow-men. Educated Indians were deeply touched by the last instance of his Lordship's desire to be-friend the people

of India, when his Lordship went down to the House of Lords from his bed of illness in the closing days of his life to support Lord Morley's noble scheme of Reform and to bid the noble Lords who were opposing some of its beneficent provisions be just to the people of India. It is a matter of profound grief that such a noble Englishman is no more, and yet the Marquis of Ripon lives, and will ever live, in the grateful memory of generations of Indians yet to come.

Truly has the poet said :—

“ But strew his ashes to the wind
Whose voice or sword has served mankind.
And is he dead whose noble mind
Lift thine on high?
To live in minds we leave behind
Is not to die.”

THE REFORMS

Ladies and Gentlemen, among the many subjects of importance which have occupied attention during the year, the foremost place must be given to the Regulations which have been promulgated under the scheme of constitutional reform for which the country is indebted to Lord Morley and to Lord Minto. That scheme was published a few days before the Congress met last year in Madras. It was hailed throughout the country with deep gratitude and delight. And nowhere did this feeling find warmer expression than at the

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Congress. The Regulations, on the other hand which were published nearly five weeks ago have, I am sorry to say, created wide-spread disappointment and dissatisfaction, except in the limited circle of our Moslem friends. The fact is, of course, deplorable. But no good will be gained and much evil is likely to result from ignoring or belittling it, or by trying to throw the blame for it on wrong shoulders. The interests of the country and of good government will be best served by trying to understand and to explain the reason for this great change which twelve months have brought about in the attitude of the educated Indian public. The question to ask is, are they to blame for not hailing the Regulations with the same feelings of thankfulness and satisfaction with which they welcomed the main outlines of the scheme, or have the Regulations so far deviated from the liberal spirit of Lord Morley's despatch, or have any important provisions of the original scheme been abandoned, to give the educated classes just cause for dissatisfaction? To obtain a full and satisfactory answer to this question it is necessary to recall to mind the history of these reforms. And this I propose to do as briefly as I can.

It was the educated class in India who first felt the desire for the introduction of self-government—the government of the people through the elected representatives of the people—in India. This desire was the

direct outcome of the study of that noble literature of England which is instinct with the love of freedom and which is eloquent of the truth that self-government is the best form of government. To my honoured friend Babu Surendranath Banerjea whom we are so pleased to find here to-day,—growing older and older in years but yet full of the enthusiasm of youth for the service of the motherland—to Babu Surendranath will ever belong the credit of having been among the first of Indians who gave audible expression to that desire. It was he and our dear departed brother Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose who established the Indian Association of Calcutta in 1876, with the object among others of agitating for the introduction of a system of representative government in India. This desire was greatly strengthened by the evil act of omission and commission of Lord Lytton's administration, to which by the way, the administration of Lord Curzon bore in many respects a striking family resemblance. The discontent that prevailed in India towards the end of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty was but slightly exceeded by that which prevailed at the end of Lord Curzon's administration. The overthrow of the Conservative ministry and the great Liberal victory of 1880 was consequently hailed with joy by educated Indians, as they read in it an assurance of relief from the evil acts and effects of Lord Lytton's administration and a promise of the

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introduction of liberal measures in India. Public expression was given to this feeling at a public meeting held in Calcutta and in the course of an eloquent speech our friend Babu Surendranath uttered the following pregnant words:—

“The question of representative government looms not in the far-off distance. Educated India is beginning to feel that the time has come when some measure of self-government might be conceded to the people. Canada governs itself. And surely it is anomalous that the grandest dependency of England should continue to be governed upon wholly different principles. The great question of representative government will probably have to be settled by the Liberal party, and I am sure it will be settled by them in a way which will add to the credit and honour of that illustrious party and will be worthy of their noble traditions.”

This feeling was not confined to Bengal. About the same time a remarkable paper was published in my own province by the late Pandit Lakshmi Narayan Dar in which he strongly advocated the introduction of representative government in India. The Liberal party did not disappoint India and it could not, as it was then under the noble guidance of that greatest Englishman of his age William Ewart Gladstone who was one of the greatest apostles of liberty that the world has known. Mr. Gladstone never

rendered a greater service to this country than when he sent out Lord Ripon as Viceroy and Governor-General of India. His Lordship's advent at the end of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty proved like the return of a bright day after a dark and chilly night. His benign influence was soon felt. Discontent died out, and a new hope, a new joy soon pervaded the land. India rejoiced to find that her destinies were entrusted to the care of a Viceroy who regarded her children as his equal fellow-subjects and was righteously determined to deal with them in the spirit of Queen Victoria's gracious Proclamation of 1858. Lord Ripon studied the wants and requirements of India. It is not unreasonable to suppose that his Lordship had taken note of the desire of educated Indians for the introduction of the principle of self-government in India, holding evidently with Macaulay and a whole race of liberal-minded Englishmen that "no nation can be perfectly well-governed till it is competent to govern itself." Lord Ripon inaugurated his noble scheme of local self-government not primarily as he was careful to point out in his Resolutions with a view to any immediate improvement in administration but chiefly "as an instrument of political and popular education" which was to lead in course of time to self-government in the administration of the provinces and eventually of the whole of the Indian

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Empire. Lord Ripon also tried to disregard distinction of race, colour and creed and appointed Indians to some of the highest posts in the country. His measures were intensely disliked by a large body of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, official and non-official. And when he endeavoured subsequently by means of what is known as the Ilbert Bill, to place Indians and Europeans on a footing of equality in the eye of the law, the storm of opposition which had long been brewing against him in Anglo-India burst in full force. It was an opposition not to the Ilbert Bill alone, but as his Lordship himself told Mr. Stead not long ago, to the scheme of local self-government and to his whole policy of treating Indians and Europeans as equal fellow-subjects. Barring of course honourable exceptions our European and Anglo-Indian fellow-subjects arrayed themselves in a body not against Hindus alone, nor yet against the Educated classes alone but against Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Parsis and all Indians alike, making no exception in favour of either the Mahomedans or the landed aristocracy. It was the educated class then who organised the Indian National Congress with a view to protect and promote, not the interests of any class or creed but the common interest of all Indians alike, irrespective of any distinction of race, creed or colour. Not the worst enemy of the Congress can point to even a single resolution passed by it

which is opposed to this basic principle of its existence, to this guiding motive of its action. Indeed no such resolution could be passed by it as the eradication of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices, and the development and consolidation of a sentiment of national unity among all sections of the Indian people was one of the essential features of the programme of the Congress. It was this Congress of educated Indians which put forward a reform of the Legislative Councils in the forefront of its programme because it was not only good in itself but it had the additional virtue, as the late Mr. Yule happily put it, of being the best of all instruments for obtaining other reforms that further experience and our growing wants might lead us to desire. It respectfully drew the attention of the Government to the poverty of vast numbers of the population and urged that the introduction of representative institution would prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of their condition. The Congress also pressed for many other reforms, among them being the employment of Indians in the higher branches of the public services and the holding of simultaneous examination in Indian Civil Service. Instead of welcoming the Congress as most useful and loyal helpmate to Government, the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy regarded it as hostile to Government. The Anglo-Indian Press, with one or

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two honourable exceptions, railed at it as if its object were to overthrow the British Government. Owing to this hostility of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy which is generally regarded as the mouthpiece of that bureaucracy, the vast body of our Mahomedan fellow-subjects held themselves aloof from the Congress. And for fear of offending the same body of Anglo-Indian officials the landed aristocracy also kept itself at a safe distance from the Congress.

It is sad to recall that as Congress continued to grow in strength and influence, some of our Mahomedan fellow-subjects and some members of the landed aristocracy came forward openly to oppose it. Notwithstanding however, all the oppositions of the Anglo-Indian Press and of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, notwithstanding also the oppositions of our Mahomedan fellow subjects and the indifference of the landed aristocracy the educated middle class continued to carry on the good work they had begun. They soon found a powerful champion in the late Mr. Bradlaugh and achieved the first victory of the Congress when as the direct result of its agitation the Indian Councils Act was passed in 1892 and the Legislative Councils were reformed and expanded. The attitude of the bureaucracy towards the educated class did not, however, show any change for the better. In fact their dislike

of them seemed to grow as they continued to agitate for further reforms. And lest they might displease the officials our Mahomedan fellow subjects continued to hold themselves aloof from the Congress and never asked for any reform in the constitution of the Government. So also did the landed classes.

The educated middle class, the men of intellect and public spirit, who devoted their time to the study of public questions and their energies to the promotion of public good, felt however that the reforms which had been effected under the Act of 1892 still left them without any real voice in the administration of their country. They found that that administration was not being conducted in the best interests of the people of the country. They found that it continued to be conducted on extravagantly costly lines; they found that the level of taxation in the country was maintained much higher than was necessary for the purposes of good administration; they found that the military expenditure of the Government was far beyond the capacity of the country to bear and they were alarmed that there was a heavy and continuous increase going on year after year in that expenditure; they found that an excessively large portion of the revenues raised from the people was being spent on what we may call Imperial purposes and a very inadequate portion on purposes which would directly benefit the people, such as the promotion of

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general, scientific, agricultural, industrial and technical education and the provision of medical relief and sanitation ; they found that the most earnest and well reasoned representations of the Congress fell flat upon the ears of the bureaucracy which was in power, and the conviction grew in them that their country could never be well or justly governed until the scheme of Reform which the Congress had suggested at its very first session were carried out in its entirety, and a real potential voice was given to them in the administration of its affairs.

At this stage came Lord Curzon to India. On almost every question of importance he adopted a policy the very reverse of that for which educated Indians had for years been praying. He showed unmistakable hostility to the educated class in India, and he is responsible for having greatly fostered it among some of the bureaucrats whom he left behind. His attempt to lightly explain away the pledges solemnly given by the Sovereign and Parliament in the Proclamation of 1858, and the Act of 1833, his Universities Act, his covert attack upon local self-government, and last but not least his high-handed partition of Bengal in the teeth of the opposition of the people of that province, filled the cup of discontent to the brim and deepened the conviction in the minds of the people that India could never be well or justly governed, nor could her people be prosperous or

contented, until they obtained through their representatives a real and potential voice in the administration of their affairs.

Happily for India, just as had happened at the end of Lord Lytton's administration, there was a change in the ministry in England and the Liberal Government came into power. The faith of a large body of educated Indians in the efficacy of constitutional agitation had been undermined by the failure of all the efforts of the people of Bengal, made by prayer and petition, to avert the evil of the partition. But Mr. John Morley, who had long been admired and adored by educated Indians as a great apostle of liberty, happily became Secretary of State for India, and the hearts of educated Indians began to beat with the hope that their agitation for a real measure of self-government, as the only remedy for the many defects and shortcomings of the existing system of administration, might succeed during his time. Our esteemed brother Mr. Gokhale was appointed its trusted delegate to England by the Congress which met at Benares and over which he so worthily presided, to urge the more pressing proposals of reform on the attention of the authorities in England. What excellent work our friend did in England, how he pressed the urgent necessity and the entire reasonableness of the reforms suggested by the Congress, and prepared the minds of the men in power there to give a favourable

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consideration to our proposals, it is not for me here to tell. In the meantime, gentlemen, our liberal minded Viceroy, Lord Minto, who found himself face to face with the legacy of a deep and widespread discontent which his brilliant but unwise predecessor had left to him, had taken a statesmanlike note of the signs of the times and the needs of the country, and already appointed a Committee of his Council to consider and report what changes should be introduced in the existing system of administration to make it suitable to the altered conditions.

This conviction found the clearest and most emphatic expression in the Congress which met in Calcutta in 1906. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the revered patriarch of the educated community, speaking with the knowledge and experience born of a life-long study of the defects and shortcomings of the existing system of administration, and oppressed with the thought of the political and economic evils from which India suffers, declared in words of burning conviction that "self-government is the only and chief remedy. In self-government lies our hope, strength and greatness." Mr. Dadabhai did not urge, that full-fledged representative institutions should at once be introduced into India. But he did urge, and the whole of educated India urged through him, that it was time that a good beginning should be made—"such a systematic beginning as that it may naturally

in no long time develop itself into a full legislature of self-government like those of the self-governing colonies."

Ladies and Gentlemen, from what I have said above, you will see that up to the middle of October 1906, our Mahomedan fellow-subjects did not trouble themselves with any questions of reforms in the system of administration. But there were some members of the Indian bureaucracy who were troubled with the thought that the liberal-minded Viceroy seriously contemplated important constitutional changes in that system, and they knew that the statesman who was at the helm of Indian affairs in England was the high priest of liberalism. They saw that there was every danger, from their point of view, that the prayer of the educated class for the reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils on a liberal basis may be granted. They frankly did not like it. It was at that time that a Mahomedan Deputation waited on Lord Minto towards the end of 1906. It claimed that the Mahomedans were politically a more important community than other communities in India and that they were therefore entitled to special consideration and even preferential treatment. Gentlemen, I regret to say it, but it is my duty to say it, that the concession which His Excellency the Viceroy was persuaded to make in his reply to that deputation, has been the root of much of the trouble

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which has arisen in connection with these reforms. The proposals for reform which were formulated in the letter of Sir Harold Stuart, dated 24th August, 1907, gave abundant evidence of this bias of the bureaucracy against the educated class. The proposals for the special representation of Mahomedans made in it, tended to set one religion against another, and to counterpoise the influence of the educated middle class. The proposal for the special representation of landholders, who had never asked to be treated as a separate class, also had their origin evidently in the same kind of feeling. So also were the proposals for creating Imperial and Provincial Advisory Councils. Those proposals met with a general condemnation from thoughtful men all over the country excepting, of course, some among the landholders and the Mahomedans. They could not meet with a welcome because they did not deserve them. Later on the Government of India revised their provisional scheme in the light of the criticisms passed upon it and with some important modifications, submitted it to the Secretary of State for India. Lord Morley did not share the bias of the bureaucracy against the educated class. It would have been as sad as strange if he did. He recognised that they were an important factor if not the most important factor, who deserved fair consideration. In his speech on the Indian Budget in 1907 His Lord-

ship observed: "You often hear men talk of the educated section of India as 'a mere handful, an infinitesimal fraction. So they are in numbers. But it is idle—totally idle—to say that this infinitesimal fraction does not count. This educated section makes all the difference.'" His Lordship appointed a committee of his own Council to consider the scheme which the Government of India had submitted to him, and after receiving its report framed his own proposals which were published in the now famous Despatch of the 27th November, 1908. His Lordship had indeed accepted the substantial part of his Excellency the Viceroy's scheme but he had liberalised it by the important changes he had made in it into a practically new scheme. The proposals for the Imperial and Advisory Councils which had been condemned by educated India were brushed aside. The Provincial Legislative Councils were to have, with very few exceptions, elected and not nominated members. His Lordship had already appointed two distinguished Indians as members of his own Council. Indians were now to be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay. Similar Executive Councils were to be established with one or more Indian members in them in the other larger provinces which were still ruled by Lieutenant Governors. Under a scheme of decentral-

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lisation, Municipal and District boards were to be vested with increased powers and responsibilities and to be freed from official control. The roots of self-government were to be extended deep down into the villages, taking full note of the various interests for which representation had to be provided in the enlarged Councils. Lord Morley suggested a scheme of electoral colleges which, as was rightly claimed, was as simple as any scheme for the representation of minorities can even be. It was built upon a system of a single vote, and fully avoided the evils of double and plural voting. It was equally free from the other objection to which the original proposals were open, viz., that it would set one class against another. It gave the power to each section of the population to return a member in the proportion corresponding to its own proportion to the total population. This scheme as we all know, was received throughout the country with feelings of great gratitude and gratification. An influential deputation composed of the representatives of all classes of the people waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy to personally tender their thanks for it to him, and through him to Lord Morley. Did the educated class lag behind any other classes in welcoming the scheme? Did the feelings of grateful satisfaction find a warmer expression anywhere than in the speech of my honoured predecessor in office, who speaking in reference to it said. "The

time of the singing of birds is come and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land"? The Congress unanimously passed a resolution giving expression to the deep and general satisfaction with which the reform proposals formulated in Lord Morley's despatch had been received throughout the country and it tendered its most sincere and grateful thanks to his Lordship and to Lord Minto for those proposals. At the same time it expressed the confident hope that the details of the proposed scheme would be worked out in the same liberal spirit in which its main outlines had been conceived. This has, unfortunately, not been done and a very important part of the scheme has been so modified as to give just grounds of complaint in a large portion of the country.

Now gentlemen, the feature of the Reforms which most appealed to the minds of educated Indians was the proposal to appoint Indians to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and the proposal to create similar Councils in the other large provinces of India, which were placed under Lieutenant-Governors. The most unmistakable proof of this fact was found in the thrill of grateful satisfaction which passed all over the country when the announcement was made of the appointment of Mr. Satyendra Prasanna Sinha as a member of the Viceroy's Council. I take this opportunity of tendering our most cordial thanks for that appointment both to

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Lord Minto and to Lord Morley. The appointment has afforded the best proof of the desire of both their Lordships to obliterate the distinctions of race, creed and colour, and to admit Indians to the highest offices under the Crown for which they may be qualified. And the act has been most sincerely and warmly appreciated by all educated Indians. Our friends in Bombay and Madras will soon have the satisfaction of finding an Indian appointed to the Executive Councils of the Governors of their respective provinces. And thanks to the large hearted and liberal supports given to the proposal by Sir Edward Baker, our brethren in Bengal too, will shortly have the satisfaction of seeing an Executive Council established in their province with an Indian as one of its members. But gentlemen, the people of my own provinces—the United Provinces, of the Punjab, of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and of Burma have been kept out of the benefit of the undoubted advantages which would result by the judgment of the Lieutenant-Governor being, “fortified and enlarged by two or more competent advisers, with an official and responsible share in his deliberations.” We, in the United Provinces, had looked eagerly forward having an Executive Council created there at the same time that one would be established in Bengal. Hindus and Mahomedans, the landed aristocracy and the educated classes were

unanimous in their desire to see such Councils established. Bombay with a population of only 19 millions, Madras with a population of only 38 millions, have each long enjoyed the advantage of being governed by a Governor in Council. The United Provinces which have a population of 48 millions have been ruled all these many years and must yet continue to be ruled by a single Lieutenant-Governor. Bengal, the population of which exceeds the population of United Provinces, by barely 3 millions, will have the benefit of an Executive Council. Not so the United Provinces, nor yet Eastern Bengal and Assam which have a population of 31 millions nor the Punjab which has a population somewhat larger than that of the Presidency of Bombay. It is not that my provinces are so poor that they cannot afford to bear the small increase in the expenditure which that arrangement may involve. They have for years been making larger contributions to the Imperial Exchequer than the sister provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bengal.

PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

We in the United Provinces have special reasons to feel aggrieved at this decision. So far back as 1833, Section 56 of the Charter Act of that year enacted that the Presidencies of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St. George, Bombay and Agra shall be administered by a Governor and three councillors. But this provision

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was suspended by an Act passed two years later mainly on the ground that "the same would be attended with a large increase of charge." The Act provided that during such time as the execution of the Act of 1833 should remain suspended, it would be lawful for the Governor-General of India in Council to appoint any servant of the East India Company of ten years' standing to the office of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. When the Charter Act of 1853 was passed it still contemplated the creation of the Presidency of Agra under the Act of 1833. Those enactments have never been repealed. In the long period that has elapsed since 1833 the provinces have largely grown in size and population by the annexation of Oudh and the normal growth of population. The revenues of the Provinces have also largely increased. The arguments for the creation of an Executive Council to help the head of the Government have been growing stronger and stronger every year. The eminent author of *Indian Polity*, whose views on questions of Indian administration are entitled to great respect, strongly urged the introduction of the change fifteen years ago. Wrote General Chesney:—"In regard to administration, the change (the North-Western Provinces) is as important as Bengal. It comprises 49 districts as against 47 in the latter, nearly twice as many as in Bombay, and more

than thrice the number of districts as in Madras, and every consideration which makes for styling the Bengal Government a Governor, apply equally to this great province. (This was said when Bengal had not been partitioned.) Here also, as in Bengal the Governor should be aided by a Council." Sir George Chesney went on to say: "The amount of business to be transacted here is beyond the capacity of a single administrator to deal with properly, while the province has arrived at a condition when the vigour and impulse to progress which the rule of one man can impart, may be fitly replaced by the greater continuity of policy which would be secured under the administration of a governor aided by a Council. So far from the head of the administration losing by the change—not to mention the relief from the pressure of work now imposed on a single man, and that a great deal of business which has now to be disposed of in his name by irresponsible Secretaries would then fall to be dealt with by members of the government with recognised authority—it would be of great advantage to the Governor if all appointments and promotions in the public service of this province, a much larger body than that in Madras and Bombay, were made in consultation with and on the joint responsibility of colleagues, instead of at his sole pleasure." The work of administration has very much increased since this was written. Sir Antony Macdonnell

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ago could not bear the strain of the work continuously for more than four years and had to take six month's leave during the period of his Lieutenant Governorship. The present Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces has, I regret to learn, found it necessary to take six months' leave at the end of only three years of his administration. And we have been surprised and deeply grieved to learn that both Lord Mocdonnell and Sir John Hewett have disapproved the creation of an Executive Council for the United Provinces. There is a widespread belief in my Provinces that if our Lieutenant-Governor had not been opposed to the proposal in question, the Provinces would have an Executive Council just as Bengal would soon have. And the fact has furnished a striking instance of the disadvantages of leaving vital questions which affect the well-being of 48 millions of people to be decided by the judgment of a single individual however able and well-meaning it may be. This is not a sentimental grievance with us. We find the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay which have had the benefit of being governed by a Governor-in-Council have made far greater progress in every matter which affects the happiness of the people than my own Provinces. And a conviction has gained ground in the minds of all thoughtful men that the provinces will have no chance of coming abreast of Bombay and

Madras until they have a Government similar to that of those Provinces. Then there may be a reasonable continuity of policy in the administration and the proposals of the Provincial Government may receive greater consideration than they do at present from the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

The members of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy—both those who retired and those still in service—have, I regret to say, done a great disservice to the cause of good government by opposing this important portion of the scheme of reform. That opposition has caused deep dissatisfaction among educated classes and has greatly chilled the enthusiasm which was aroused among them when the proposals of Lord Morley were first published. I would strongly urge upon the Government the wisdom of taking steps to give an Executive Council at as early a date as may be practicable, not only to the United Provinces and the Punjab but also Eastern Bengal and Assam, and to Burma. The creation of such Councils with one or two Indian members in them would be a distinct gain to the cause of good administration. It will afford an effectual safeguard against serious administrative blunders being committed, particularly in these days of repressive measures and deportations without trial. England is just now on the eve of a general election. But the elections are,

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soon to be over. Let us hope for the good of this country that it will result in bringing the Liberal Government again into power. Let us also hope that in the result the House of Lords will become somewhat liberal. I hope that soon after Parliament has been constituted again the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General of India in Council will be pleased to take the earliest opportunity to create Executive Councils in the United Provinces, the Punjab and Eastern Bengal and Assam by either getting the Indian Councils Act modified, or by obtaining the assent of both the Houses of Parliament to the creation of such Councils under the provisions of the existing Act.

I wish to make it clear here that we have no complaint whatsoever in this connection either against Lord Morley or Lord Minto. We know—and we acknowledge it with sincere gratitude—that both the noble lords did all that they could to get in original clause (3) of the Bill passed as it had been framed. We know that we won our defeat to the action of Lord Curzon who seems to be afflicted with the evil desire of constantly adding the record of his services to India. And to the opposition of Lord Macdonnell from whom we had hoped for very much better, and last but not least to the most regrettable attitude adopted towards the proposal contained in that clause by Sir John Hewett, the present Lieutenant-Governor of our Provinces.

I am not without hopes, however, that Sir John Hewett may yet reconsider his opinion and try to undo the mischief that has been done by moving the Government of India to take early steps to secure the benefit of Government by a Council before he retires from his exalted office.

The question of the Executive Councils affects, however, particular Provinces of India but the regulations that have been promulgated for the whole country have given rise to general discontent.

Let us now turn our attention to the Regulations which have been promulgated under the scheme of Reform Lord Morely had put forward a most carefully considered scheme of proportional representation on the basis of population. In the debate which took place, on the Bill his Lordship, we regretted to find, has accepted the view that the Mahomedan community was entitled on the ground of political importance which it claimed to a larger representation than it would be justified by its proportion to the total population. His Lordship was pleased to indicate the extent of the larger representation which he was prepared to ensure to the Mahomedans on the ground of their political importance. Though the educated non-Moslem public generally was as it still is opposed to any representation in the legislatures of the country on the basis of religion yet there were several amongst us

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who recognised the difficulty that had been created by Lord Minto's reply to the Mahomedan deputation at Simla and were prepared not to demur to the larger representation to the extent suggested by Lord Morely.

We were prepared to agree that a certain amount of representation should be guaranteed to them that they should try to secure it through the general electorate and that if they failed to obtain the number of representatives fixed for them they should be allowed to make up the number by special Mahomedan electorates formed for the purpose. The Regulations which have been published, however, do not provide that they shall elect the number of representatives which has been fixed for them on a consideration not only of their proportion to total population but also of their alleged political importance, by special electorates created for the purpose. But they permit them to take part also in the mixed electorates and thereby enable them to secure an excessive and undue representation of their own community to the exclusion of the representatives of other communities. The system of single vote which was an essential feature of Lord Morley's scheme had been cast to the winds and the injustice of double and plural voting which Lord Morley rightly tried to avoid has been given full play. In my Province and I believe, in many other Provinces some of my Mahomedan

fellow-subjects have votes in three places ; and when there is still a chance of getting the Government to increase the number of seats which were to be specially reserved to them, they swear that they will not take election to the Councils by the votes of non-Moslems. When the Regulations were passed, they lost no time in cancelling the resolution of their league and put forward candidates to contest almost every seat for which elections were to be made by mixed electorates. The members of the Municipal and District Boards to whom the general franchise has been confined were elected or appointed at a time when the electors did not accept or reject a candidate on the ground of his religion. The result was that the Mahomedans occupied a far larger number of seats on Municipal and District Boards than their proportion to the population or their state in the country justified. The result has been that in addition to the four seats specially reserved the Mahomedans have won two more seats in the United Provinces in the general election and these with the minority seats provided by the Government gave Mahomedans eight seats out of a total of 26 non-official seats in the legislature of the Province where they form but one sixth of the population.

In the Punjab where the Hindus were in a minority and not the Mahomedans, excepting one Hindu member who has been returned by the University, Mahomedans

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have succeeded in winning every other seat against Hindus. In Eastern Bengal and Assam also Hindu candidates for election have failed and Mahomedans have succeeded in obtaining almost every seat: this is protecting the interest of minorities with vengeance, nay, it is a case of the exclusion of the majority by a minority.

This advantage has, however, been reserved only to the favoured minority of our Mahomedan fellow-subjects. The Hindu minorities in the Punjab and Eastern Bengal and Assam have been left out severely in the cold. And yet they are found fault with for not waxing with enthusiasm over the Reforms.

Let us now turn to the question of the franchise. Direct representation has been given to Mahomedans. It has been refused to non-Mahomedans. All Mahomedans who pay an income-tax on three thousand rupees or land revenue in the same sum, and all graduates of five year's standing have been given the power to vote. Now I am not only not sorry, but am sincerely glad that direct representation has been given to our Mahomedan follow-subjects and that the franchise extended to them is fairly liberal.

Indeed, 'no taxation without representation' being the cardinal article of faith in the political creed of Englishmen it would have been a matter for greater satisfaction if the franchise had been extended to all payers of income-tax. The point of complaint is that

the franchise has not similarly been extended to any non-Mahomedan.

A Parsee, Hindu or Christian who may be paying an income-tax on three lakhs or land revenue in the sum of three lakhs a year, is not entitled to a vote, as his Mahomedan fellow subject, who pays an income-tax on only three thousand a year or land revenue in the same sum. Hindu, Parsee and Christian graduates of thirty years' standing, men like Sir Guru Das Banerji, Dr. Bhandarkar, Sir Subramania Iyer and Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, have not been given a vote which has been given to every Mahomedan graduate of five years' standing. People whose sensitiveness has been sobered down by age may not resent this. But can it be doubted for a moment that tens of thousands of non-Mahomedan graduates in the country must and do deeply resent being kept out of a privilege which has been extended to Mahomedan graduates? It is to my mind exceedingly deplorable that when the Government had decided to give direct representation and a fairly liberal franchise to Mahomedans it did not extend it to non-Mahomedans also.

Let us consider now the restrictions that have been placed in the choice of candidates. In Bengal, Bombay and Madras, and in Bengal at first, eligibility to a membership of Provincial Council has been confined for members of Municipal and Dis-

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strict Boards only. This is a novel departure from the practice which obtained for the last seventeen years under the Councils Act of 1892, and I regret to think it is a departure taken without a full consideration of its result. That result is most unfortunate. It is acknowledged that the scheme of local self-government which Lord Ripon introduced into the country, has not had a fair trial yet. Lord Morley in his despatch of last year took note of the fact that it had not realised the expectations formed and in explanation thereof his Lordship was pleased to say, adopting the language of the resolution, of 1882 that "there appears to be great force in the argument that so long as the chief executive officers are, as a matter of course, Chairmen of Municipal and District Committees there is little chance of these Councils affording any effective training to their members in the management of local affairs or of the non-official members taking any real interest in local business." Further on, his Lordship truly observed that "non-official members have not been induced to such an extent as was hoped to take real interest in local business because their powers and their responsibilities were not real." Owing to this fact the Municipal and District Boards have with an exception here and there not attracted many able and independent members. The result of confining eligibility as a member of Council to members of Municipal

and District Boards has therefore necessarily been to exclude a large number of the local men in every province (excepting in my own where I am thankful to say, no such restriction has been made) eligible for election. Under this operation of his short-visioned rule in Bengal a number of the public men of province were found to be ineligible for election, and Sir Edward Baker had to modify the Regulations within barely three weeks of their being published to make it possible for some at least of the public men of his province to enter the Council. In Madras Sir Arthur Lawley had to adopt the expediency of nominating some of the ex-members of the Legislative Council as members of Municipal and District or Taluk Boards in order to make them eligible as members of the new Council under the Regulations. In Bombay two ex-members of the Council had to enter Municipal Boards, which they were only enabled to do by the courtesy of obliging friends who resigned their seats to make room for them in order to qualify them for election to the Council. This does not, I regret to say, exhaust the grounds of our objections to the Regulations. A property qualification has been laid down in the case of candidates for membership of the Councils. No such qualification is required of members of Parliament in England. None such was required under the Regulations which were in force for nearly seventeen years under the Act

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of 1892. No complaint was ever heard that the absence of any such restriction on the choice of the electors, had led to the admission of any undesirable person into the Councils. The possession of property or an income does not necessarily predicate ability much less character, and does not by itself secure to any man the esteem, or confidence of his fellowmen. No more does property, necessarily indicate want of capability or respectability. The ancient Lawgiver *Munu*, mentions five qualifications which earn man the respect of others *i.e.*, wealth, relations, age, time, and knowledge. These five things entitle a man to respect. Of these each succeeding qualification is of greater weight than each preceding one. Thus according to this teaching, education was the highest qualification, and possession of wealth the lowest. The Regulations have not merely reversed the order but have excluded education from the category of qualifications needed in a member of the Legislative Council. The framers of the Regulations took no note of the fact that in this ancient land, thousands of men of bright intelligence and pure character have voluntarily wedded themselves to poverty and consecrated their lives to the pursuit or promotion of learning or religion, or other philanthropic objects. The result is that so far as the Provincial Councils are concerned, selfless patriots like Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji or Mr. Gokhale are ineligible

as members of the Councils. Regulations which lead to such results stand self condemned.

Again, the clause relating to disqualifications for membership had been made unnecessarily stringent and exclusive. A person who has been dismissed from Government service is to be disqualified for even a membership of the Councils. Whether he was dismissed for anything which indicated any hostility to Government or any moral turpitude or whether he was dismissed merely for disobeying or not carrying out any order or merely for failing to attend at a place and time where at which he may have been required, he must never be permitted to serve the Government and the people again. It does not matter whether his case was rightly or wrongly decided, his having been dismissed constitutes an offence of such gravity that it cannot be condoned. So also does a sentence of imprisonment, however short it may be, for any offence which is punishable with imprisonment for more than six months. Here again, no count is taken of the fact whether the offence of which the punishment was inflicted implied any moral defect in the man. No such disqualification exists in the case of a membership for Parliament. Mr. John Burns was once sentenced to eight months, imprisonment ; he is now a Cabinet Minister. Mr. Lynch actually fought against the British Government in Boer war ; he was sentenced

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to death, but the sentence was mitigated later on and he has since been elected a Member of Parliament. What then can be the reason or justification for laying down such a severe and sweeping disqualification in a country where the judicial and executive functions are still combined in one officer, and where administration of justice is not as impartial and pure as it is in England?

More objectionable still is clause (i) of the disqualifying section which lays down that a man shall not be eligible as a member of the Council if he has been declared by the local Government to be of such reputation and antecedents that his election would in the opinion of the head of the Local Government be contrary to the public interest. Now, gentlemen, you will remember that in the debates in Parliament the question was raised whether the deportation of a man under Regulation III of 1818 and similar Regulations of 1818, would by itself disqualify a man for sitting in the Council. Bearing probably in mind that a man might be deported without any just or reasonable cause as it is believed, was the case of Lala Lajpat Rai. Lord Morley could not bring himself to agree to deportation being made a ground of disqualification. His Lordship probably gave his assent to clause (1) being enacted in the belief that it was less open to objection. But with due respect to his Lordship, I

venture to submit that it is open to even greater objection than the disqualification of deportees as such would have been. In the case of a deportation the local Government has to satisfy the Government of India why action should be taken under the drastic Regulation relating thereto. This new clause empowers the local Government on its own authority to declare a man to be ineligible, and thereby to do irreparable injury to his character. The judgment of the local Government may be entirely unjust, but there can be no appeal from it. How seriously liable to abuse the clause is, is demonstrated by the case of Mr. Kelkar, Editor of the "Mahratta." Mr. Kelkar offered himself as a candidate for election to the Council. Thereupon His Excellency the Governor of Bombay made a declaration under the clause in questions that in His Excellency's opinion Mr. Kelkar's antecedents and reputation were such that his election would be contrary to the public interest. Now, gentlemen, the knowledge which His Excellency the Governor has of Mr. Kelkar's reputation and antecedents, is not his own personal knowledge, but must have largely been derived from reports. There happens to be another man, however, in the Bombay Presidency, ayé in Poona itself, where Mr. Kelkar has lived and worked, whose solicitude for the public interest is perhaps, it may be conceded, not less keen and whose opinion as to what would be contrary

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to the public interest is not entitled to less weight than that of Sir George Clarke's Government or his colleagues. And that is my esteemed brother Mr. Gokhale. He has one great advantage in this respect over Sir George Clarke that he has a personal knowledge born of many years of personal contact of Mr. Kelkar's character. When the declaration in question was made Mr. Gokhale felt it to be his duty to publicly bear testimony to the good character of Mr. Kelkar and to protest against the action of the Governor of Bombay.

Mr. Kelkar appealed to the Governor but his appeal has been rejected, and remains condemned unheard.

The next feature of the reforms which created widespread satisfaction was the promise of a nonofficial majority in the Provincial Councils. The Congress had, in the scheme put forward so far back as 1886, urged that at least half the members of both the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils should be elected and not more than one-fourth should be officials. Congressmen regarded this as the *sine qua non* procuring to the representatives of the people a real voice in the administration of their country's affairs.

Lord Morley did not think it fit to give us yet a non-official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council. We regretted the decision. But Lord Morley

had been pleased to accept the recommendation for a non-official majority in the Provincial Legislative Council and we decided to accept it with gratitude in the confidence that after Provincial Legislative Councils have worked satisfactorily for a few years under the new Reform scheme, the more important concession of a non-official majority in the Imperial Council was certain to come.

We are glad and thankful to find that a real non-official majority has been provided in the case of Bengal. And I take this opportunity of expressing our high appreciation of the large-hearted and liberal support which Sir Edward Baker has given to Lord Morley's proposals. It is due to that support that Bengal will shortly have the benefit of a Council Government. To Sir Edward Baker also among all the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the different Provinces, belongs the credit of having secured a non-official majority of elected Members in the Legislative Council of the great Province over which he rules. The Regulations for Bengal lay down that out of a total of 49 members of the Council 26 *i.e.* more than half shall be elected, and that the members, nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor shall not exceed 22, not more than 17 of whom may be officials, and two of whom shall be non-officials to be selected one from Indian commercial community and one from the

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planting community. But in sad contrast to this stands the case of the second largest Province of India *viz.*, the United Provinces.

The provision of a non-official majority has thus been reduced to a practical nullity. Sir John Hewett had warmly supported the proposals for the creation of Imperial and Provincial Advisory Councils. Those proposals as we know, have been abandoned completely. But the Lieutenant-Governor of my Province seems to have been so enamoured of them that he has done a good deal—may be unwittingly—to make his Legislative Councils approach the ideal of what were proposed to be Advisory Councils. Out of the total number of 46 members, only 20 are to be elected and 26 to be nominated, of whom as many as 20 may be officials. Sir John Hewett has shown great promptitude in nominating the six non-official members. Two of these are independent Chiefs, *viz.*, His Highness the Nawab of Rampore and His Highness the Raja of Tehri, and the third His Highness the Maharaja of Benares who is practically regarded as an independent chief. No subject of the British Government has any voice in the administration of the affairs of these Chiefs. What justification can there be then for giving these Chief a voice in the discussion of legislation or other discussions which affect the weal or woe of the subjects of the British Indian Government. They do

not study the wants of the latter. And even if they have formed an opinion about any matter that may need a discussion, they cannot afford to express it except when it may coincide with that of the Government. It is thus obvious that they cannot be useful members of the Council which they are to adorn. Why then have they been nominated, if it not be to act as a counterpoise to the influence of the educated class? Of the three other nominees of Sir John Hewett, one is a Mahomedan Nawab who is innocent of English and one European indigo planter. The sixth nominee is a representative of the non-official Indian commercial community which the Regulations required him to be. Some of the other objections to which the regulations are open have also been most forcibly illustrated in the case of my Province.

Our Mahomedan fellow-subjects constitute only 14 per cent. of the population in these Provinces. Four seats have been allotted to them out of the total of 20 elected seats, in consideration of their alleged political importance. Then they have been allowed to participate in the elections by mixed electorates, and they have won two seats there. Thus out of 26 non-official members 8 are Mahomedans. Among the elected members as many as 8 are representatives of the landed aristocracy and only five of the educated classes. The non-official majority is thus reduced to a

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farce. Time will not permit me to deal at length with the case of the other Provinces. But speaking generally I may say that owing to the excessive representation which have been secured to the Mahomedans and to the landed classes, and the small representation which has been given to the educated classes, the provision for a non-official majority has been made ineffective for all practical purposes.

Such are the Regulations which have been promulgated under the Reform Scheme. I would respectfully invite Lord Morley himself to judge how far they have departed from the liberal spirit of the proposals which had been fashioned with such statesman like care and caution. I also invite Lord Minto to consider if the Regulations do not practically give effect, as far as they could, to the objectionable features of the scheme which was put forward in Sir Harold Stuart's letter of 24th August 1907, and which were so widely condemned, and also to judge how different in spirit they are to the proposals for which the people of India tendered their warmest thanks to his Lordship and to his noble chief at Whitehall. Should any one wonder that the educated classes in India are intensely dissatisfied with the Regulations? Have they not every reason to be so? For more than a quarter of a century they have laboured through the Congress to promote the common interests of all classes and sects of the people

in India and to develop a common feeling of nationality among the followers of all the different religions which is not less necessary for the purpose of a civilized Government than for the peaceful progress, prosperity and happiness of the people. The Regulations for the first time in the history of the British rule have recognised religion as a basis of representation and have thus raised a wall of separation between the Mahomedans and non-Mahomedan subjects of His Majesty which it will take years of earnest effort to demolish. They have also practically undone, for the time being at any rate, the results of the earnest agitation of a quarter of a century to secure an effective voice to the representatives of the people in the Government of their Country.

It is not that the Congress wanted that the Mahomedans or the landed aristocracy should not be fully represented in the reformed Councils. It desired and it fully expected that if a fair general electorate would be provided there would be a sufficient number of representatives of all classes of the community in the Councils. But it desired that as they would have to deal in Legislative Councils with questions which would affect equally the interests of all classes and creeds alike they should be returned to the Council by the common suffrages of their countrymen of all classes and creeds and that their title to the confidence of their countrymen should be based on their ability to

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protecta nd promote the interests of the people by their ability, integrity and independence of character, and not by reason of their belonging to any particular faith or creed, or of their having inherited or acquired so many broad acres. We are grieved to find that when we caught a glimpse of the promised land by the extremely fortunate combination of a Liberal statesman as Secretary of State and a liberal-minded Viceroy, our old friends of the bureaucracy have yet succeeded in blocking the way to it for at least sometime to come.

Gentlemen, the attitude of the educated Indians towards the Reforms has been misinterpreted in some quarters. Some of the criticism has been quite friendly and we fully appreciate it. But I wish our friends looked a little more closely into the facts, and their criticism puts me in mind of a very instructive ancient tradition. Viswamitra, a mighty Kshatriya King, the master of large wealth and extensive territories, felt that there was a still higher honour, that of being a Brahman whose title to respect rests not on any earthly possession or power but on learning and piety and philanthropic work. He accordingly practised severe austerities, and with the exception of one Brahman every one else acclaimed him a Brahman. That was Vasishta. Viswamitra first tried to persuade him to declare him a Brahman, then threatened him and having yet failed in his object, he killed a hundred

children of Vasishtha. Deeply was Vasishtha distressed. If he had but once said that Viswamitra had qualified himself to be regarded a Brahman he would have saved himself and his family all the sorrow and suffering which Viswamitra inflicted on him. But Vasishtha valued truth more than a hundred sons. He would not utter what he did not believe to be true. At last Viswamitra one day decided to kill Vasishtha himself. He went armed to Vasishtha's hermitage with that object and while he was waiting in a corner for an opportunity he overheard what Vasishtha said to his wife the holy Arundhati in answer to her question as to whose *tapasya* was as bright as the moonlight in the midst of which they were seated. 'Viswamitra's' was the unhesitating answer. The hearing of it changed Viswamitra. He cast aside the arms of the Kshatriya and with it the pride of power and anger, and as he approached Vasishtha in true humility, Vasishtha greeted him as a *Brahmarishi*; Viswamitra was overcome. After Viswamitra had got over the feelings of grateful reverence which over-powered him, and after apologising for all the injury inflicted by him upon Vasishtha he asked why Vasishtha had not acknowledged him as a Brahman earlier and thus saved himself the sorrow and Viswamitra from committing the sin of killing his sons.

"Viswamitra," said "Vasishtha," every time you

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came to me before this, you came to me with the pride and power of a Kshatriya, and I greeted you as such. You come to-day imbued with the spirit of a Brahman. I welcome you as such. I spoke the truth then, and I have spoken the truth to-day." Even so, gentlemen, I venture humbly to claim how my educated countrymen have spoken in the matter of the Reforms. What has been the attitude of the educated class? The first proposals published in Sir Harold Stuart's letter were open to serious and valid objections and they were condemned as such by educated Indians. The proposals published by Lord Morley last year were truly liberal and comprehensive in spirit and they were welcomed as such with gratitude.

The Regulations framed under that Scheme have unfortunately widely departed from the spirit of those proposals and are illiberal and retrogressive to a degree. The educated Indians have compelled to condemn them. They have done so more in sorrow than in anger.

Let the Government modify the Regulations so as to bring them into harmony with the spirit of Lord Morley's proposals and in the name of this Congress, and I venture to say on behalf of my educated countrymen, generally, I beg to assure the Government that they will meet with a cordial and grateful reception.

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I do not ignore the fact that there is an assurance contained in the Regulations that they will be modified in the light of the experience that will be gained in the working. That assurance has been strengthened by what His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say 'in this connection both at Bombay and Madras. But I most respectfully submit that many of the defects pointed out in them are such that they can be remedied without waiting for the light of experience. I respectfully invite Lord Morley and Lord Minto to consider whether in view of the widespread dissatisfaction which the Regulations have created it is not desirable in the interests of good administration and to fulfil one of the most important objects of the Reforms viz., the allaying of discontent and the promotion of good-will between the Government and the people, to take the earliest opportunity to make an announcement that the objections urged against the Regulations will be taken into consideration.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND INDIAN GRIEVANCES

IN supporting the following resolution of the fifth Indian National Congress held at Bombay in 1889 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that, in the interests of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right, formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India before Mr. Speaker leaves the Chair for the presentation in Committee of the Indian Budget statement, and earnestly trusts that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion, and further authorizes the President, Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., to sign a petition in the name and on behalf of this Congress for presentation to the House of Commons in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.

Mr. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—
I have very great pleasure in supporting this Resolution, and I hope you will listen with kind patience to the few remarks that I have to address to you on this

important subject. You will remember that two years ago when we met at Madras, we expressed our deep regret at the fact that the English Parliament did not devote that attention to our affairs which we had a right to expect of it. But now we regret still more to find that during the period that has since elapsed, matters have gone from bad to worse. Till recently when the Indian Budget was laid before the House of Commons such of the members as felt any interest in our affairs, were given an opportunity of saying whatever they thought necessary to say on our behalf. We complained that the opportunity thus afforded was very inadequate for anything like a fair consideration of the affairs of this vast country, and we prayed that more time might be given to the consideration of those affairs. (*Hear, hear.*) But so far from that reasonable request being granted we find, gentlemen, that even the little opportunity that had hitherto been allowed for the discussion of Indian questions has been circumscribed within still narrower bounds. The new rules of the House have, in a way, practically shut out all discussion bearing on the welfare of the 250 millions of Her Majesty's subjects in India. (*Shame, shame.*) I cannot properly express the regret and disappointment which this has created amongst us. Mr. Bonnerjee has very ably pointed out how injuriously to us this new rule of the House of

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Commons operates. The British Parliament, as representing the British people, is the one power to whom we look for the redress of our grievances. They, it is, who are really responsible for the good or bad government of this country. (*Hear, hear.*) And if they refuse or neglect to pay proper attention to our affairs, the result must be entirely injurious to the interests of our people. (*Cheers.*) The importance and necessity of Parliamentary control over the Indian administration, especially in matters of finance has always been recognised. But it is even more important and necessary now than perhaps it ever was before; for our finances are unfortunately getting more and more embarrassed day by day. And yet it is at this very critical time that Parliament has partly withdrawn even that little attention which it hitherto has been wont to bestow upon Indian questions. The evil results of this diminution of control are already visible. Hitherto when complaints were made of the excessive increase of expenditure in India the member of the Government in charge has grudgingly admitted that there was room for economy and retrenchment. In the year 1883, the House of Commons passed a resolution to the effect that in the opinion of that House it is necessary that early steps be taken to reduce the expenditure of India. Lord Kimberley, our then Secretary of State, in his despatch, dated the 8th of June 1883, urged the Govern-

ment of India to take the subject of the reduction of expenditure into their earliest consideration. Lord Randolph Churchill, our next Secretary of State, later on, said that "the financial position of India was very grave indeed, and required the most careful consideration, and the exercise of the most rigid economy was necessary, in his opinion, in order 'to avoid bankruptcy." But *the withdrawal of Parliamentary control seems to have emboldened the present Under-Secretary to take up a very different attitude. When complaints were made on the occasion of the last debate on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, of the ever-growing increase of expenditure in India, Sir John Gorst met them boldly by saying that "expenditure has increased, it ought to increase, and it ought not to be diminished." (*Shame, shame*) And he tried to justify this view by asserting that the wealth and prosperity of the country was increasing. Now, gentlemen, no one would be more delighted than ourselves to know that the country was really growing in wealth and prosperity. (*Cheers.*) But, unhappily, the stern reality of facts forbids us from consoling ourselves with such pleasing fancies. We look wistfully in all directions; we go deep into the Mofussil, we see our brethren in their homes and huts as they actually live; and far from seeing any indications of that increasing prosperity which Sir J. Gorst

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said he discerned at that distance, we find the people growing poorer and less and less able to maintain themselves, their wives and children, than they were before. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*) And we therefore say, gentlemen, that the increase of expenditure is, under existing circumstances, not only unjustifiable, but positively sinful. (*Prolonged cheers.*) The increase of public expenditure would undoubtedly be welcome if it followed upon an increase of wealth and prosperity among the people. There has been a large increase of revenue in England during the past quarter of a century. But it has followed an enormous growth of wealth and commerce in England and no one complains much of it. But in India public expenditure goes on increasing while the condition of the people is deteriorating day by day. (*Hear, hear.*) One simple but incontrovertible proof of this lies in the fact that almost all the recent additions to the revenue of the Government have been screwed out of the first necessities of the Indian people. To take only the most recent instances, increased expenditure has been met by enhancing the duty on salt, a thing necessary alike to man and cattle; by taxing the poor man's oil, as petroleum has rightly been called, by imposing a double tax on the famishing ryots of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and by misappropriating the Famine Insurance Fund (*shame!*), a fund especially

created and promised by three Viceroys to be religiously set apart for meeting difficulties in times of scarcity and famine. (*Shame!*)

This ceaseless growth of expenditure is, gentlemen, an evil of alarming magnitude and deserves the most earnest consideration of Parliament. (*Cheers*) Look only to your military expenditure. In 1857, with an army numbering about 254,000, men, the total military expenditure amounted to 11½ millions a year. But now with an army smaller by not less than 40,000 men, your military expenditure stands at the high figure of 20 million sterling a year. And you know how it is met! It is met, as I have told you, by making salt and petroleum dear to the masses and by making men starve and die in times of scarcity and famine. (*Cries of shame!*)

I have no wish, gentlemen, to take up much more of your time. But allow me just a moment more to enable me to point out how dreadfully serious the financial situation in India has become, and how urgently necessary it is, in consequence, to check and curtail this overgrown military expenditure. Taxation has reached its utmost limit in India. There is no margin left for the Government to fall back upon in the hour of necessity. Sir E. Baring, our former Finance Minister, said in his evidence before the Royal Commission, in July last, that when Finance Minister in India he "was

very much struck with the weakness of the financial position by reason of the absense of any financial reserve." He said he had publicly declared in his Budget Statement of 1882 that the duty on salt was lowered with the view to constituting a financial reserve, and that he had intended to bring down the duty, in the course of years, to a rupee a maund, in order that it might constitute a real reserve. But far from that wise course being persisted in the duty on salt has, as you know, been again raised to Rs. 2-8 a maund, and the financial position is weaker than it ever was before. If unfortunately a war breaks out to-morrow, which God forbid, Government have no means of raising the necessary amount of money except by borrowing. ("Question !") I do not know what the gentlemen behind means by the word "Question." If he questions the validity of my statement I am willing to quote official authorities in support of what I say. But, I don't wish to detain you any longer. All that I say, I say, to show the necessity of Parliament exercising a constant control over the Indian expenditure, and by cutting down all that is unnecessary or extravagant in it, to rescue the finances of India from that sorrowful embarrassment into which they are at present plunged. (*Cheers.*)

It is sad and strange, gentlemen, that the new rules of the House of which we are complaining have

been brought into force during the Premiership of the Marquis of Salisbury. His Lordship, when Secretary of State for India, very emphatically expressed the opinion in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Indian finance, that the most effectual way of securing financial justice for India was for the House of Commons to be constantly watchful on our behalf. His Lordship said that in order to save India from being oppressed, the House of Commons should keep a sufficiently sharp eye over matters concerning India. And yet it is in his time that these new rules have been passed, whereby the House is precluded from exercising even that little watchfulness over Indian matters which it hitherto used to do. But, gentlemen, as has been explained to you, this has been an unforeseen result of the rules. I hope with confidence that the rules will soon be amended, and that not only will our old privilege be restored to us, but that the Hon'ble House will fix such a date for the consideration of the Indian Budget as will allow of a fair and full discussion of questions affecting the welfare of the 200 millions of people entrusted by Providence to their care. (*Cheers and loud cries of Vote.*)

INDIAN GRIEVANCES AND THEIR REMEDIES

In seconding the following resolution of the Seventh Indian National Congress held at Nagpur in 1891, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said.

That fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that, in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation.

That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to—

(a) the exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration, and all control over the finances of their own country, the remedy for which has been set forth in Resolution II;

(b) the extravagant cost of the present administration, Military and Civil, but especially the former; and to

(c) a short-sighted system of Land Revenue Administration, whereby not only is all improvement in the agriculture of the country, on which nine-tenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assured.

That hence it has become imperatively necessary—that the cost of the administration be greatly reduced; in the military branch, by a substantial reduction of the

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standing army, by the substitution of long term local European troops like those of the Hon. E. I. Company for the present short term Imperial regiments with their heavy cost of recruitment in England, in transport and of the excessive mortality amongst non-acclimatized youths; by the cessation of the gigantic waste of money that has gone on now for several years, on so-called Frontier Defences and by a strict economy in the Commissariat, Ordinance and Store Departments; and in the Civil Branch, by the wide substitution of a cheaper indigenous agency for the extremely costly imported Staff; and that measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land Revenue demand and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to 10 and 12 years, is found to be impossible and to establish agricultural banks.

That this Congress does most earnestly entreat the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to permit any further sacrifice of life by the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory administration, but to insist and speedily, on these reforms.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is my duty to second the proposition, or part of the pro-

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position which has been so ably moved by my friend Mr. Wacha. That duty is rendered easy by the exhaustive manner in which he has dealt with the subject ; still I must ask your indulgence a few minutes in order to lay before you a few more ideas bearing on the same subject, and to show the extreme necessity and urgency of the reforms which we are advocating. It has often been said that we Congress people repeat from year to year the same old cries, the same demands, and then go back to our homes after completing this part of our work. But, gentlemen, who is to blame for this state of things! Are we to blame for repeating these old cries, or does not the blame rather pertain to the Government which turns from year to year a deaf ear to those our most earnest appeals? Numberless officers of the Government have said that the poverty of this country is unquestionably very great, and that poverty is growing from year to year. Sir W. Hunter, Sir Charles Eliot, Sir A. Colvin and a number of others have, from their seats in the Viceroy's Council, constantly repeated mournfully and sadly the fact that India is poor and is becoming poorer and poorer every day. And what do we find? Have any measures worthy of the name been adopted to ameliorate that condition, to check the growth of that poverty, and to stamp it out of the country? No, to our deep regret, and (I am extremely

sorry to say it) to the shame of our Government, nothing, absolutely nothing, has been done. Ten or fifteen years ago Sir William Hunter said that nearly a fifth of the population of India, nearly 40 millions, go through life on insufficient food. Sir Charles Eliot, while Commissioner of Assam, said: "I do not hesitate to say that half our agricultural population do not know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger satisfied." Sir E. Baring, Financial Minister in the Viceroy's Council, said "That the average income of the Indian people was Rs. 27 per head." Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji has proved, and Mr. Digby has also recently shown, that the amount is under Rs. 21 per head. But in view of these admitted and undeniable facts, what measures have the Government taken to check the growth of poverty and stamp it out of the land? They may no doubt have made efforts now and then to show that they are willing to check the growth of this poverty. They now and then appoint a Commission to take evidence, here and there, and submit reports. But what is their treatment of these Commissions, and what do they do with these reports? They throw them aside for ever. There was the Simla Army Commission; there has been the Public Service Commission; there was the Finance Committee. What have their labors brought about? no doubt bulky reports ably written and printed; but

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nothing further has resulted from them. It is therefore no fault of ours. It gives us no pleasure to repeat these same old cries—cries prompted by the intense agony of our condition—cries which go out of our hearts and our lips, not because we desire to talk of these things, but because the pain we feel compels us to utter them, to make these appeals to the Government in the hope that their hearts may yet melt, that they may yet take pity on the condition of the people and make an honest, manly effort to cut down expenditure, and to save the people of this country from the misery they are suffering at the present moment.

Of course, we know that the causes of this poverty are manifold. No one can expect us, in the course of our debates here, much less in the short speeches made on any of these resolutions, to deal exhaustively with all the causes of that poverty. In this resolution we deal with the causes for which the Government is mainly responsible, and we point out the remedies which the Government can directly apply, if it chooses to do so, and which it is the plainest duty of the Government to apply, if it cares to call itself a civilized Government. What are those duties and those remedies? In the first three clauses you speak of the exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration. That has been dealt with by my predecessors, and I will leave it. Those who

follow me may well take up the question of revenue administration. My friend, Mr. Wacha, has spoken of the military expenditure of the country. It pains me deeply to think of that question. You know that in the gracious Proclamation of Her Majesty she said that she held herself bound to her Indian people by the same ties and obligations as those which bind her to her subjects in Great Britain and Ireland ; and further that no Indian subject of Her Majesty will be excluded from any appointment by reason of birth, color or creed. And yet what do we find ? Take the military branch of the service. Our countrymen have served the Government, and will continue to serve it with remarkable fidelity and unflinching courage they have gone beyond the borders of India, wherever Her Majesty has desired them to go, and have fought and shed their blood. And what have been their rewards ? They are confined to such subordinate positions as *Subedar* and *Resaldar* majorships ; they are not allowed to go higher, after 25 years of valorous service, they remain subordinate to the sub-lieutenant, who joined yesterday. Is that carrying out the intentions of Her Most Gracious Majesty ? Where is the justification, in reason or in fact, for not allowing Indian soldiers to be appointed as captains, as colonels, and as generals in Her Majesty's Army. Have they not faithfully and bravely served Her Majesty in numberless battles ? Can the

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most confirmed of our opponents point to one instance (setting aside the doubtful case of the sad Mutiny) in which Indian soldiers have not discharged their duties faithfully and honorably? Send Mahomedans to fight against the Afghan, they lay side all considerations of religion and fight against brethern of their own creed. Send Hindus to any part of the country beyond India; they fight for Her Majesty faithfully and honorably. Why then exclude these people from any participation in the reward of the higher branches of the military service? What is the result? That a large proportion of the income of this country goes to foreign lands in the shape of pension and pay. The same remark applies to Civil Administration. There is that gracious Proclamation, and there is the practice of Her Majesty's representatives here and in England. Is the practice in conformity with the Proclamation? You exclude Indian people almost entirely from the Convenated Civil Service by saying that you will hold the examinations for it only in England. You do not employ the children of the soil even in those positions which Secretaries of State for India have declared are resered for the children of the soil.—I mean employment in the Uncovenanted Service. You recruit officers for the Covenanted Civil Service. A hundred officers are needed; you recruit a hundred and fifty. The result is, in the fist place, that you make the

country pay for service which it does not require; and, in the second place, you make these covenanted officials encroach upon the grounds reserved for men in the Uncovenanted Service. For all matters, whatever branch you take up, forest or railways, or the P. W. D., the desire is not that Indians should be employed, not that fit men should be employed, but that places may be found (I am sorry to say so) for Englishmen in India, so that they may draw incomes far beyond their market value at their own homes, and take their savings and pensions hence to spend them in England (*Cheers.*) Let none think that I am prompted by any unkind feeling towards my English brethren in saying so. I have the same love, affection and esteem for them as I have for my other fellow human beings. What I say is that it is most improper, that it is unrighteous, that it is criminal and sinful to let people living in a distant country come here and enjoy all these advantages while you have a host of people starving at your door. You speak of the poverty of the country. What else can the country be but poor! The Marquis of Salisbury himself declared that much of the revenue of India is exported without any equitable equivalent in return. There are others who say that a large proportion of the revenue of India goes out in the shape of pay and pension to England and other

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places. The total expenditure of the Civil Service is about 14 millions. Of this nearly two-thirds go to Europeans, and only one-third to natives of this country. In the Military Service, again, all the loaves and fishes, all the best and most honored offices are given to Europeans, not because they are a whit fitter than their brother Indian soldiers, not because they are more courageous, more able to fight and to defeat the enemy, but because they happen to possess a fairer complexion. (*Shame*). Combining the Military and Civil Services: you will find, I cannot give the exact figure, but it cannot be less than 15 millions sterling every year going in the shape of pay and pensions and home expenditure of various kinds to England from India never to return to it. The result has been well pointed out in the press and on the platform, but no one has put it more pithily than Mr. J. Wilson in the *Fortnightly Review* of March 1884, and his remarks are true now, with the necessary corrections. He says: "In one form or other we draw fully £30,000,000 a year from that unhappy country, and there the average wages of the natives is about £5 per annum, less rather than more, in many parts" (of course we know that it is nothing like £5; it is £1 and a few shillings.) "Our Indian tribute, therefore represents the entire earnings of upwards of six (in reality 100 millions) of the people. It means the abstract

tion of more than one-tenth (really one-third) of the entire sustenance of India every year." I will not longer occupy your time. I have had my little say, and I hope that those who follow will make it clearer still that the Government, in excluding the children of the soil from employment in the higher branches of the service, are persisting, not only in a most unrighteous but a most suicidal policy. Gentlemen, Government cannot live without the people. Let the people continue to grow poorer and poorer, and the Government is nowhere, or at any rate it ceases to deserve the name of Government. We have hitherto appealed almost in vain; let us hope that our present appeals will not be entirely fruitless. It is true that we are interested, and, therefore, we speak with bitterness and warmth. Who else will speak but those who are interested? It is the man who is being flogged who cries out, not the mere bystanders! We appeal to the English people who are our brethren to make their administration of this country more in conformity with reason, with justice and with common sense, with those high and noble principles, which have always been their pride, and which have raised them to the proud position which they now occupy before the world. Then, and then alone, will British rule in India be the glory, as it should be of England. Let me quote, in conclusion, the words of Mr. Bright on this subject: "You must remem-

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ber that all this great population has no voice in its own affairs. It is dumb before the power that has subjected it. It is never consulted upon any matter connected with its government. It is subject to the power that rules over it, in a manner that cannot be said of the population of any civilized Christian people of the world." Let the English people make haste and take away this great reproach cast upon them by a man whom they revere and then we shall always be happy in our mutual union and to our mutual benefit (*cheers.*)

GRIEVOUS DISTRESS AMONG THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

In moving the following resolution of the ninth Indian National Congress held at Lahore in 1893 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

That this Congress, concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses, affirms :

. That fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade, several millions actually perish by starvation.

And humbly urges once more that immediate steps be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affairs.

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—
It is with a heaving heart I rise to propose this motion. It is a matter of very great regret that a resolution of this character should have to be passed year after year without our having the consolation of recording that the Government had paid earnest attention to the matter. I say, it is a matter of very great regret because of all the grievances under which our people are suffering, of all the troubles that they have to undergo, this question of poverty is the greatest, and as such, one would expect

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that the Government would devote its attention to remedy the grievance which year after year the best intelligence of India has put forward for its consideration. Gentlemen, as I have said, it is a matter of deep regret that we should have to use the words of this resolution once more. This subject was brought to the attention of Government as early as 1885, when the first Congress met in Bombay. Again in 1886, when we met at Calcutta for the first time, the subject was, if anything, more emphatically dwelt upon and we urged Government to institute enquiries and to take steps to remedy the spread of poverty which we complained of.

Though nine years have rolled by, the Government have not yet taken any step to remedy the state of affairs. All they did was to institute a hole and corner enquiry in 1888, not with a view to remedy the grievance, but to silence the complaints, if possible, by saying that the poverty complained of existed not so much in reality as in imagination and the reports published by Government, and the Resolution of the 24th October, 1888, was directly meant to serve that end. But if Government make these hole and corner enquiries, and evidence is not sought and evidence is not received, and reports and resolutions are hurled at the heads of the people, with a view to throw dust into their eyes, who is to blame if the people don't

believe them and if we complain of the cruel indifference of the Government ; who is to blame if we have to appeal again and again to the Englishmen who have come to govern the country and those who have taken the responsibility of guiding our destinies in England ; who is to blame if we have to appeal again and again for justice in this country ? When a proposal was put forward recently in the House of Commons, asking that a Royal Commission might be appointed to enquire into the complaint, it was said by those who did not care to have such an enquiry, that honorable gentleman who presides over this assembly, had not supplied sufficient evidence of poverty, but, as, the President well remarked, you cannot make people see if they are not inclined to see. Facts and figures have been supplied both this year and in previous years which leave no room for doubt that poverty has been increasing, goes on increasing and will go on increasing, unless something is done to remedy it. If they chose to ignore all that is said to them they cannot tell us with decency that we have not given them evidence. They talk of sense of solemn responsibility in having undertaken the task of guiding the destinies of the millions of this land. When you come to think of the small attention they bestow on Indian questions and the light-hearted-ness with which they deal with the most solemn questions, you begin to suspect, they

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do not realise their responsibility to God and man ; for injustice, oppression and suffering, are going on under their rule. They have asked us to supply evidence of the poverty. Will they come and see? If they believe in God and believe they will have to render an account of their stewardship in this country, let them come out to this country once in their lives and go from village to village and town to town and see in what misery the people live. Let them come out and ask the people what the country was, say, before the Mutiny. Where are the weavers, where are those men who lived by different industries and manufactures, and where are the manufactures which were sent to England and other European countries in very large quantities year after year? All that has become a thing of the past; every one sitting here is clothed in cloth of British make, almost every one—and wherever you go you find British manufactures and British goods staring you in the face. All that is left to the people is to drag out a miserable existence by agricultural operations and make infinitesimal profit out of the little trade left to them. In the matter of the services, in the matter of trade, our people are not enjoying one hundredth part of the profit and again which they used to enjoy fifty years ago. How then is it possible for country to be happy? How is it surprising that the country is not more poor than it is?

There are only two kinds of evidence we can offer to our critics, one is the direct evidence of the eyes, and we invite them to acquire that for themselves, the other is the indirect evidence supplied by the experience of those who have lived in this country and know the way in which the people live. Any such evidence I am ready to place before you, the evidence of men in the veracity and accuracy of whose statements no man dare utter a doubt. I will first call attention to what Mr. John Bright said in 1853, in the House of Common. Speaking of India he said, "what is it that the people of of India, if they spoke by my mouth, have to complain of? They would tell the House that, as a rule, throughout almost all the Presidencies, and throghout those Presidencies most of which have been longest under the British rule, the cultivators of the soil, the great body of the population of India, are in a condition of great impoverishment, of great dejection and of great suffering." Later on, Lord Lawrence in 1864, said, "India is on the whole a very poor country. The mass of the population enjoy only a scanty subsistence." Speaking in 1873, he again said, "the mass of people were so miserably poor that they had barely the means of subsistence." In 1868-69 Mr. W. R. Robertson, then the head of the Agricultural Department in Madras said, "The condition of the Agricul-

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tural labourer in India is a disgrace to any country calling itself civilised." Sir Auckland Colvin speaking in 1885 in connection with the License Tax Amendment Bill remarked, "The masses of the people are men whose income at the best is barely sufficient to afford them the sustenance necessary to support life, living as they do on the barest necessities of life." In 1882 Sir Evelyn Baring said, speaking as the Finance Minister of this country. "It has been calculated that the average income per head of the population in India is not more than Rs. 27 a year, and though I am not prepared to pledge myself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation of this sort, it is sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that the tax paying community is exceedingly poor. To derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a population as this, is obviously impossible, and if it were possible, would be unjustifiable." Again in the discussion on the budget after repeating the above statement regarding the income of Rs. 27 per head per annum, he said: "But he thought it was quite sufficient to show the extreme poverty of the masses of the people. In England the average income per head of the population is £ 33 (it is now £ 41), in France it was £ 23, in Turkey which was the poorest country in Europe it was £ 4 per head. He would ask honourable members to think what Rs. 27 per annum was to support a person and then

he would ask whether a few annas was nothing to such poor people." Again if you come to 1888 you find that the Government of India admit indirectly that there was a great and increasing poverty, for, what did they say in their white-washing resolution? They said: "There is evidence to show that in all parts of India there is a numerous population which lives from hand to mouth, is always in debt, does not save and has little or nothing to fall back upon in bad seasons." It is unnecessary for me to multiply these quotations; any man who cares to know the real facts can read the valuable papers of our illustrious Chairman and the paper issued by the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha in which the condition of the country is graphically and truly depicted. There was no shadow of fact in the excuse that our illustrious Chairman did not supply facts, for by official papers the fact is proved that there is great poverty and that Government is doing nothing, or precious little to remove that poverty or check its growth. I ask you to say by this resolution that there are fully fifty millions of the population dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation. It is a serious statement to make, yet I am emboldened to ask you to give consent to this motion, because, if any thing, it does not fully express the poverty of the land; it falls short because I think the numbers are not correct, it underrates the numbers.

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You might ask me to give my authority for saying this I appeal to your own experience, but if you want indirect authority, there is that of Sir Charles Eliot and Sir William Hunter. The latter says, "The remaining fifth, or forty millions, go through life on insufficient food ;" whilst Sir Charles Eliot says, "I do not hesitate to say that half of our agricultural population never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied." Let the rulers think over those words and ask themselves what they will have to say to God when they go before Him. I accept all these statements of officials of Government, and ask, why does not Government do something to remedy the evil? We say that several millions perish by starvation. It is unnecessary to tire you with many figures but I will say this to prove that statement. The loss of life by war from 1793 to 1890 in the whole world was 4,500,000 ; the loss of life in 8 years by fever alone in India was 4,349,922. Does that not prove conclusively that several millions of our people die from sheer starvation, and are we not justified in asking our rulers to earnestly give this matter their most earnest consideration before the danger develops into a danger of a serious character?" (Loud applause.)

POVERTY AND FAMINE

In supporting the following resolution of the twelfth Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1896 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

That this Congress deplores the outbreak of famine in more or less acute form throughout India and holds that this and other famines which have occurred in recent years are due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assessment, consequent on a policy of extravagance, followed by the Government both in the Civil and the Military departments, which has so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries which have practically been extinguished and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries.

In the meantime the Congress would remind the Government of its solemn duty to save human life and

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mitigate human suffering, (the provisions of the existing Famine Code being in the opinion of the Congress inadequate as regards wages and rations and oppressive as regards task work,) and would appeal to the Government to redeem its pledges by restoring the Famine Insurance Fund (keeping a separate account of it) to its original footing and to apply it more largely to its original purpose, viz., the immediate relief of the famine-stricken people.

That in view of the fact that private charity in England is ready to flow freely into this country at this awful juncture and considering that large classes of sufferers can only be reached by private charity, this Congress desires to enter its most emphatic protest against the manner in which the Government of India is at present blocking the way, and this Congress humbly ventures to express the hope that the disastrous mistake committed by Lord Lytton's Government in the matter will not be repeated on this occasion.

Mr. President and Brother Delegates—The resolution has been spoken to by several gentlemen and the various parts of it have been ably dealt with by them. I would only ask your attention to certain points connected with the subject which I think would bear further consideration.

Gentlemen, we have now been under the benign rule of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress for a very long period: and we have been under the rule of England for a much longer period still. We

are governed by what is admitted by all impartial critics to be on the whole the best Civil Service in the world. In addition to all that, you will remember that our country is not poor in its natural resources. With all our ample resources, with such an excellent Civil Service to govern us, why is it that we, of all people on earth, should be liable to suffer so fearfully from these periodically recurring famines? Why, I ask, there is not something very wrong in the present system of Government? My friend, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, has said truly that if the reforms, which have so long and so strongly been advocated by the National Congress, had been accepted and carried out by Government, these dreaded famines would have become matters of past history. (Hear, hear). I invite your attention to the first portion of the resolution wherein we say that it is our firm conviction "that the first outbreak of famine, in a more or less acute form throughout India at present, and the other famines which have occurred in recent years, are due to the great impoverishment of the people, brought on by excessive taxation, consequent on the policy of extravagance followed by the Government, both in the civil and military expenditure, and that system has so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and begin to perish unless they are fed by the State." Gentlemen, as has

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been happily expressed by our poet Kalidas, taxation is like the moisture absorbed by the rays of the sun,—absorbed that it may descend in a thousandfold measure to fertilise the land from which it has been drawn. But unfortunately for us, a very large portion of the moisture thus absorbed descends not at all here, but falls in heavy refreshing showers upon more fortunate lands which stand not much in need of it. In the Civil Service of this country, for instance, nearly six crores of rupees are spent annually upon the salaries of its European members, who are not residents of this country. Of the twenty-four crores spent every year upon the military department, nearly two-thirds of the amount paid as salary goes towards the pay of Europeans and only one-third towards that of the natives of the country. Add to this the large amount that we have to remit every year to England in the shape of Home charges. When such vast sums of money are drawn away year after year from the country, can you wonder that it should grow poorer and poorer and that the people should become less able to bear the ordinary burdens of life, and much less able to meet the calamity of a famine when it should come upon them? That, however, is not all. Look at the condition of our arts and industries. A time there was when the people of England were supplied with Indian cloth to such an extent that Daniel

Defoe, writing to an English Magazine, bitterly complained that the English weavers had thereby been thrown completely out of work. The nation was roused to a sense of its duty to its weavers. Parliament came to their rescue, and adopted measures to put down the extensive use of the products of Indian looms in England. The times have changed. Now in India we are surrounded on all sides with products of English and other foreign mills and manufactories. Even the little pins we use, we have to get from England. This influx of foreign manufactures has killed our indigenous arts and industries, and has taken the bread away from millions of our people. What they used to earn in the shape of wages goes now to enrich the foreigner, and leaves India the poorer for its loss. And yet little is being done to remedy this deplorable state of things here. Gentlemen, England would not have occupied the position that she does in the world, if the English Government had not sedulously fostered the arts and industries of England. Why should not Indian industries be fostered in the same way as those of England and other western countries have been? If the Indian Government had done what it should have done to promote technical education and to develop and encourage arts and industries in this country, if the Government had utilised and encouraged native talent and native industry, instead of foreign talent and

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ability, the country would not have been so miserably poor as it is at this moment ; and if famine came, the people would have been able to bear its rigours without resort to Government or appeal to foreign nations for help. (*Cheers*). But this extinction of native arts and industries, and the exclusion of the children of the soil from the vast majority of the more lucrative appointments in the public service, have reduced the country to its present state of abject poverty. Our national average income is but £2 a year per head of the population, half of that of even Turkey, said to be the most mis-governed country in Europe. Out of this low income, we are forced to contribute largely to maintain the costliest system of administration known to the civilised world ; and the bulk of the higher appointments in that administration being filled with foreigners, much of what we thus contribute is drained out of the country, never to return to it again. It was inevitable that such a state of things, so long continued, should bring the people to their present pitiable condition, when forty millions of them are believed to be living constantly on the verge of starvation, and when the failure of a single harvest brings millions to the door of death, and would make them perish unless the State intervened in time to help them. (*Hear, hear.*) This is not a view which we Indians alone entertain, but it is also held by more

than one eminent English statesman. I will quote to you the opinion of two of them only which must carry great weight with them. John Bright (*Cheers*) speaking in 1877 said:—"I say that a Government put over 250,000,000 of people which has levied taxes till it can levy no more, which spends all that it can levy and which has borrowed 100,000,000, more than all that it can levy—I say a Government like that has some fatal defect which, at some not distant time must bring disaster and humiliation to the Government and to the people on whose behalf it rules." Another eminent Englishman, Sir George Wingate, says:—Taxes spent in the country in which they are raised are totally different in their effect from taxes raised in one country and spent in another. In the former case the taxes collected from the population are again returned to the industrious classes. But the case is wholly different when the taxes are not spent in the country from which they are raised. They constitute an absolute loss and extinction of the whole amount withdrawn from the taxed country. . . . Such is the nature of the tribute we have so long exacted from India. From this explanation some faint conception may be formed of the cruel, crushing effect of the tribute upon India. The Indian tribute whether weighed in the scales of justice, or viewed in the light of our own interest will be found to be at variance with humanity, with common sense, and

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the maxims of economic science," (*Hear, hear*). It is unnecessary for me to dilate any further on this point. I think I have said enough to justify our belief that unless the Government introduces changes in the administration to make it less costly than it is at present, and thereby reduces the burden of taxation, unless it utilises native talent and promotes native arts and industries and minimises the drain of the country's wealth to other lands, our liability to suffer from these dreaded famines will not cease ; and, as has been observed by Sir George Chesney "till the danger of famine has been guarded against to the fullest extent the English in India may replace anarchy by peace and may distribute equal justice, and remove ignorance, but it cannot be said that they have fulfilled their whole duty by the people of the country." (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, having made these few observations with regard to the first paragraph of the resolution, I will ask you to bear with me for a few minutes more, while I say something on the state of affairs in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Times have been hard with us in the North-Western Provinces for the last three years. We have had a succession of bad seasons, and the people have been less and less able, to bear the severity of the present season. The distress that is now prevailing in my part of the country is widespread and

intense. But fortunately for us, we have at the head of affairs in our provinces, a ruler with a large, sympathetic heart, (*Cheers.*) clear foresight, and a statesman-like determination to do all that can be done by his Government to prevent death by starvation. You have rightly and justly made your acknowledgments to Sir Antony Macdonnell. (*Cheers.*) Were it not for his presence in my provinces, you might have had to hear at this moment that scores of thousands of people had died from starvation in the Bundelkhand and Allahabad divisions alone. I believe all that can be done by the head of the Administration at a time like this is being done by Sir Antony Macdonnell. It is due to His Honor's prudent forecast of the coming calamity, and the timely arrangements he made to cope with it, that you find nearly three lakhs of persons in receipt of state relief at this moment in my provinces. (*Hear, hear.*) The distress however, as I have said, is very widespread and is deepening every day. The measures of relief require to be extended and supplemented. The number of persons employed on relief works is but an index of the suffering which the people generally are undergoing; and even such as it is, it will multiply itself fast and frequently during the months that lie between us and the next spring harvest.

Besides, beyond the circle of those who resort to relief works, is a vast number of *pardanashin* women and the respectable middle class poor who are keenly

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feeling the pressure of the prevailing high prices. They, too, badly need relief. The Government of Sir Antony Macdonnell has been good enough to place Rs. 15,000 a month at the disposal of the Relief Fund Committee at Lucknow for help to *pardanashins* and the middle class poor. I am told it is proposed to distribute relief at the rate of Rs. 2 per head, which I think would be too small. But even at that rate, the sum would reach to help 7,500 persons only. The Government has granted Rs. 5,000 a month for similar distribution at Allahabad. This with the addition of a small contribution from the fund raised by the people would only suffice to bring help to say three thousand persons of the respectable middle class. But the number of persons who need relief is very much larger in both these populous cities. And the number will be daily on the increase for some time. Then there are *pardanashin ladies* and the respectable poor in other districts of the United Provinces, people with small incomes and large families, who find it increasingly difficult to make the two ends meet during the present hard times. They cannot, owing to various social considerations resort to relief works. Many of them would seem not to require help. But they stand sorely in need of it, and, they would welcome it, if it is given to them in a manner to make it acceptable and effective. Gentlemen, many relief committees are being

formed in different places in my provinces. And I hope they will bring much relief to the people. But I must say, I fear, with all that the people will have to undergo a great deal of privation and suffering until the existing condition of things changes for the better. That change cannot, under the most hopeful view, come about until the spring crops have been harvested. For the next three months, therefore, the people of my provinces will, I am sorry to think, require help in a very large and daily increasing measure. And if any help is to come to us, either from this country or from other countries, this is the time when it should come in. And no one who has any spark of human sympathy or any sense of responsibility left in him should stand in the way of that help, if he cannot actively assist in bringing it. (*Cheers.*)

One word more, gentlemen, and I have done ; and that is about the rations and wages allowed under the Famine Code. I am sorry to find that the rations prescribed in the code are smaller in quantity than those prescribed for prisoners in jails. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Tilak has been good enough to place in my hand a table which he has himself prepared, from which it seems that persons who are sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour, are allowed 24 ounces of flour with 5 of *dal* every day in the Bombay Presidency ; 25 ounces of flour with 4

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of *dal* in Madras ; 28 of flour with 2 of *dal* in the N. W. P.; and 22 of flour with 6 of *dal* in Bengal. But under the Famine Code the maximum ration prescribed as sufficient to maintain able-bodied relief-workers in health and strength is only 24 ounces of flour with 4 of *dal* every day ! In the case of persons sentenced to simple imprisonment without labour, every adult male gets 20 ounces of flour with 4 of *dal* in Bombay ; 21 of flour with 4 of *dal* in Madras ; 20 of flour with 2 of *dal* in the N. W. P.; and 18 of rice with 4 of *dal* in Bengal. But only 16 ounces of flour with 2 of *dal* are allowed under the Famine Code to the inmates of the poor-house and to other persons who are unable to work. The rations prescribed for the different classes of prisoners were fixed as the result of a long and careful enquiry by the medical officers of Government, and may safely be taken to be the right measure of food that is needed to keep prisoners in health and strength. To allow less than that quantity to persons whom calamity and not crime has brought to depend on the State for food, is to say the least, of it unbecoming and unjust. (*Cheers.*) If they are to be saved from death by starvation, they should certainly be given enough of food to be able to keep up their health and working strength. Then again there is no provision for supplying the necessary clothing to the poor in the

Famine Code. The Code requires to be amended in these respects. And I hope the amendments will be soon made. In the matter of tasks, it was recommended by the Famine Commission that not more than 75 per cent. of the work done by an ordinary labourer should be imposed upon relief workers, but the complaint comes from many parts of the country that the full amount of work is exacted from people who go to the relief works, and, perhaps, this combined with the rather short wages given, forms the reason why people keep away from relief works as long as they can. These are matters which call for the urgent consideration of Government. The Famine Code, admirable in other respects, requires to be amended in regard to the matters noted above. To illustrate the necessity of an early amendment, I will quote to you but one instance. There is no better poor-house on my side, so far as I know, than the one at Lucknow. Mr. Gray, the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, had at first ordered that every adult male should receive the 16 ounces of flour laid down in the Famine Code. But finding that it did not satisfy the hunger of the people, he directed that 18 ounces per day should be given to each of them. Three months later, he was told that he could only allow 16 ounces per day, and he had to go down, against his own better judgment, to the standard

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prescribed in the Code. I earnestly hope the Government will soon revise the Code, or issue instructions to its officers to give as much food as is necessary to those who come to relief works or poor-houses to maintain them in health and strength. I also hope that the Government will take immediate measures to bring in all the help possible, not merely from its own coffers, but also from England to the rescue of the people, before it has become too late, before they have been so far weakened and emaciated, so much broken down by suffering, as to be unable any longer to maintain the struggle for existence, when no help which the Government might bring them would avail to save them from the jaws of death. (Loud cheers.)

REFORMS TO PREVENT FAMINES

In seconding the following resolution of the fifteenth Indian National Congress held at Lahore in 1899, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :—

That this Congress, while gratefully recognising the endeavours made by the Indian and Provincial Governments to save human life and relieve distress at the present famine, urges the adoption of the true remedy—to improve the condition of the cultivating classes and prevent the occurrence of famine. This Congress recommends the curtailment of public expenditure, the development of local and indigenous industries, and the moderating of land assessment.

Mr. President, ladies and Gentlemen :—I have the pleasure to second this resolution, and I do not think I need say much in support of it. This is a question, gentlemen, which has not been brought before the Congress for the first time. Almost in an identical form this matter has been placed before the Congress in years past, and the Congress has expressed its opinion very emphatically as to the true remedy for famine. Gentlemen, the regret is that notwithstanding this recorded expression of opinion by the Congress, notwithstanding the expression of

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similar opinion by English Statesmen and Politicians who have governed this country and, notwithstanding also the conviction which has been expressed in writing by many officials of State, the remedy which seems to be not denied, not seriously disputed by anybody but admitted by most, should not yet have been most seriously adopted, at any rate that no serious effort should have been made to grapple with the question, as it should have been done. Now, gentlemen, in the first part of the resolution you justly express your appreciation of the endeavours which are being made by Provincial Administrations to relieve distress and to mitigate suffering so far as they can, by administering relief in times of famine. It is undoubtedly a grand humanitarian sight to see the Government employing all its vast machinery to relieve distress, so far as it humanly can, when there is actual distress in the country. I do not think there is a single man who has seen the grand famine operations or heard of them and yet will fail to express his deep obligations to the Government for that measure. But when these sights recur with an unfortunate frequency as they do, when you find famines coming one after another during the course of a short period of 3 or 4 years, you begin to turn away from the consideration of the humanitarian aspect of relieving distress when it comes, and you begin almost to feel callous for the time being as to the

fate of the few who are suffering when you think of the fate of the many who may be overcome in time to come by the same dire calamity. You ask, where is the remedy? Where is the guarantee? Where is the assurance, the hope, that this dire calamity will not overtake many more millions in the year to come? (Hear, here.) I am sorry to say, gentlemen, there does not seem to me to be any response of a hopeful nature to that question at least for the present moment. It has been long understood that famines in India do occur with greater frequency than they occur in more civilised countries. When I say more civilised countries let me tell you, in one respect there is no country which is more civilised than India, (*cheers*) namely in having the good fortune, the exceptionally good fortune of having what has been pronounced by several competent men as was also expressed the other day by our President, a magnificent civil service for the country (*cheers*). Now, gentlemen, with such a service to guide the affairs of the country, with men of the highest culture, men of the broadest humanitarian feelings, men who come out with the idea of serving the country in the best way they can and also to a country not at all poor in its natural resources, what is it that brings famine to the doors of India so often and so repeatedly? What is it that prevents the Government of this country from driving out the famine practically from India as

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it has been driven practically from other civilized countries which have not such an excellent service there as we have a good fortune to possess. There must be some reason gentlemen. It is not the service which is to blame, but it is the system which is to blame (*hear, hear*). The pity, the great pity, the deplorable pity of it is, that notwithstanding the matter has been so often brought before the Government, the true remedy has never yet been seriously thought of being applied. Gentlemen, the question that you have before you to day is that of famine occurring repeatedly; and the remedy that you point out briefly in this resolution is that the condition of the cultivating classes must be improved. Gentlemen, remember it is no use my repeating to you that $\frac{4}{5}$ of the population of this country depends upon agriculture. Now, the condition of agriculture cannot be improved unless the Government take good care to consider what is necessary to improve that condition. There are two aspects of the question, the Government revenue demand and the fixity of tenure to the cultivating classes. With regard to the first, gentlemen, we have repeatedly expressed our conviction that Permanent settlement should be extended to all those parts of India where it does not obtain (*cheers*). With regard to the second, we have also expressed our deep conviction that a fixity of tenure should be secured to the

cultivating classes, so that they may be better able to bear the rigours of famine when it should approach them. With regard to the first, it seems to me that certain officials of Government think that it is an impracticable scheme, that the days are long passed when Governors or Statesmen, British Indian Statesmen, would think of extending the permanent settlement, that we must not hope that it would ever be extended, that huge mistake was committed in Bengal where a large portion of the revenue of Government was made over to the Zemindars of Bengal, to the detriment of the rest of the country.

The government, so say some of these statesmen, is not going to repeat that huge blunder. Well, gentlemen, if it were that only the zemindars of Bengal or any other part of India that were to be taken into consideration, I should not be taking up your time and spending energy in speaking on this aspect of the question. The zemindars are only a small body in the country, compared to the great mass of the population in whose midst they live, and I am sure that nobody would desire that the measure should not be adopted because while it will benefit a large body of men in the country it would also benefit the zemindars (cheers). Gentlemen, the conviction has long been expressed that permanent settlement is needed, and I would only read to you some quotations from high

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official authorities in support of that view. It is no doubt in 1793 that permanent settlement was introduced in Bengal. The Government had not then all that information before them which they have now after a century. It is not that English statesmen have given up their idea until a very few years ago, of extending permanent settlement to other parts of the country. In 1862 the Secretary of State in a despatch pointed out that it was desirable to extend permanent settlement wherever a certain portion of the area has come under cultivation. Again in 1865 the same opinion was expressed. Now, gentlemen, the words of the despatch are so important that I ask your permission to read some of them. Writing in the despatch of 1862, Viscount Halifax said :—

“After a most careful review of these considerations, Her Majesty’s Government are of opinion that the advantages which may be reasonably expected to accrue not only to those immediately concerned with land but to the community generally, are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of revenue in order to attain them, and that settlement in perpetuity in the districts in which the conditions require it or, may hereafter require it, is a measure dictated by sound policy and calculated to accelerate and develop the resources of India and to ensure in the highest degree the welfare

and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects." Now, gentlemen, such an opinion as that coming so late as 1862 and being laid before the Government of India, and the conviction of vast numbers of educated Indians who live in India in the midst of the people and who are better acquainted with the evils which are incidental to a temporary settlement of land revenue, should set the Government of India at least into a mood for serious enquiry whether that was not the real and true remedy for the state of things which we in common with the Government of India deplore. Then, gentlemen, there is the question of the fixity of tenure to the cultivating classes. I am glad to find, and I am sure we are all grateful to find, that not in one but in several Provinces, the Government is anxious to obtain fixity of tenure to the cultivating classes. In these Provinces, you are aware that efforts are being made in that direction, and efforts have been made in other Provinces too. Now, gentlemen, you must remember one thing. There is a great deal of opposition shown at times, particularly by the Zemindars to the advantages of ryot only being looked to in the proposals of the Government. I do not speak here for the Zemindars, but I speak in the interests of the ryot. The Government ought to introduce such rules and make such arrangements as will not have to be given up or gradually modified

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to prevent discontent among Zemindars or to pacify them; and one essential condition of success in the line is that while Government wants to give fixity of tenure or certainty of long lease to the cultivating classes, the Government ought also to restrain its hands and not repeatedly demand increased revenue for over 12 or 20 or 33 years from the Zemindars (*Cheers*).

In the unusual excitement which the Land Revenue Act has produced in these Provinces I have had occasions to meet and discuss the question with several Zemindars and I find, gentlemen, that not one, but many of them said to me :—

“We would be very glad and we are very willing that the Government should extent to the ryot what they want, if the Government would give us also permanent settlement as to the revenue demand.” (*Cheers*.)

Therefore, gentlemen, to that extent, I say the question of permanent settlement is one which concerns the ryots also. Place some restriction on your revenue demand and place a corresponding restriction upon the demand of the Zemindar from the cultivator, so that the cultivator may be secured against undue enhancement and against capricious ejectment; and you will have secured the happiness and contentment of the very greatest portion of the population of India (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, there are just two other matters that I want to touch upon. I am very sorry I have trespassed too long upon your patience. Of the two other matters to which I will briefly refer, one is, amongst other recommendations we make, we say that Government ought to foster native industries and native arts. Time there was, when in this very city of Lucknow any number of persons were employed in producing things of native manufacture, and earning a very handsome living by that means. Unfortunately to-day if you go and inquire of the old citizens of Lucknow, you will find that products of English and other foreign mills have entirely killed Indian industries. Gentlemen, we do not blame the Government for it. That is a matter about which we make no complaint to the Government. What we pray is that the Government would take measures to give technical and industrial education to the people, so that they may be able to find out the means of producing those things which are required in India in their own midst and not send away crores upon crores to foreign lands in lieu of things that exist (Cheers). It seems that even if all our prayers regarding greater employment of Indians in the public service were granted, that would bring us only a very small relief, compared to the great relief which would come to the country by the introduction or revival of native arts and industries (Hear, hear).

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Gentlemen, it is for this reason that we pray to Government to take steps to give a better technical instruction to the people of this country than they have hitherto been doing. In England itself more is done than in India ; while in countries, like Germany, in Asiatic countries like little Japan much more attention is paid to important technical instruction, preparing the people to produce things that they require for their ordinary every day use.

Therefore, it is, we say that, in our opinion, the Government ought to spend much more money on establishing and maintaining colleges for imparting technical education, than it has hitherto done. Gentlemen, if these prayers are considered in a candid manner, if these prayers are listened to and a serious enquiry is instituted as to the means by which effect can be given to this, I have no doubt the condition of the people will greatly improve at no distant date, and if famine should even then come to the doors of our people they will be better able to protect themselves against that calamity and the Government will find it not necessary to come to the rescue of the people to the extent they do at present (Cheers).

THE EXPENDITURE COMMISSION

IN supporting the following resolution of the eleventh Indian National Congress held at Poona in 1895 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

That the congress is of opinion that the enquiry by the Expenditure Commission will not be satisfactory to the people of this country, nor be of any practical advantage, to the Government, unless the lines of policy which regulate expenditure are enquired into, and unless facilities are afforded and arrangements made for receiving evidence other than official and Anglo-Indian. And this Congress also feels that the enquiry would in all probability yield better results, if the proceedings were conducted with open doors.

Mr. President and brother delegates:—It is a painful duty I come to perform in supporting the resolution which has been moved by my friend Mr. Baikunthanath and which has been so well seconded by the last speaker. Gentlemen, when Her Majesty the Queen of England (*Cheers*) assumed the direct government of this country, we rejoiced over the event. We rejoiced because we felt that we were taken in hand by the sovereign of a country which boasted of free institutions, the like of which did not exist in any

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other country. We rejoiced because we felt that, whatever might have been the events of the early days of British rule, from the moment Her Majesty adopted us as her own subjects all unpleasant recollections of the past were done away with, and we could claim to stand on an equal footing with our fellow-subjects of Great Britain and Ireland. (*Cheers*). We also rejoiced because we felt and believed that the English people, having fought their own constitutional battles through centuries and having got the principle of "government for the people" established firmly in their own land would not fail to see that the administration of this Country was conducted on the same principle, so as to improve the condition of the people in all material respects. I am sorry, however, to think, gentlemen, that our administrators—the bureaucracy which govern us, here and in England—compel us at times to doubt whether we were right in rejoicing at that event; and why? Because before Her Majesty assumed the direct government of this country, more earnest attention was given to Indian affairs; there was a keener desire to see that no injustice was done which could be averted and that the interests of the people of India were properly protected and promoted, than unfortunately often seems to be the case now. In the year 1773, when the East India Company applied for a renewal of their Charter, there

was an enquiry by a Parliamentary committee into the administration of India by that Company. That enquiry was followed by another enquiry in the year 1793; and that was followed by similar enquiries every twenty years, until the Government of India passed from the company to the crown. Every one of these enquiries led to important reforms, because it disclosed the defects which existed in the administration during the preceding twenty years. Since Her Majesty has assumed the government of this country, no such enquiry has been held. (*Shame.*) We have long been crying for it, crying as hard as we could and as earnestly as we could, but I am sorry to say we have not yet been given that full and comprehensive enquiry into the administration of this country by Her Majesty's Government, which is essential to remove defects which exist in that administration, and to make those reforms which are needed in the interests of the people as well as of the Government. The necessity for such an enquiry has long been recognised. In the very first year of the Congress, when we met at Bombay, the first resolution passed related to the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the administration of this country. In 1886 we had the satisfaction to note that a Royal Commission had been promised. I think Lord Randolph Churchill was then in office. There were words in the speech from the Throne which led us to hope that a Commission

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would be appointed. We expected it would be appointed. But years rolled away and no Commission was appointed. Our friends in Parliament tried, on every opportunity they could get, to impress the necessity of such a Commission in Parliament, but unfortunately, they too did not succeed. And why did they not?—because it seems to me, gentlemen, to be a hard fact that the English people do not take that interest in our affairs which they take in their own. (*Cheers*) It seems to be a fact that they are too much occupied with their own affairs to be able to devote any attention to the proper consideration of the affairs of this country. But are not our English brethren, therefore, to blame in this matter? We have asked them to allow us to exercise the right of considering our own affairs; we have asked them to give us Legislative Councils, empowered to consider all those questions of domestic administration which, it is necessary in the interests of good Government, should be considered by the representatives of the people, but they have refused to grant us those reforms. They have given us a nominal reform in the matter of these Councils, which notwithstanding all that may be said about it, leaves the Council as helpless as before so far as controlling the expenditure of the country is concerned. (*Cheers.*) Our Councils to-day are practically what they have been since their creation.

They only serve to delude the minds of the people into believing that they really have some voice in the administration of their affairs, which they have not. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, it is well to have the strength of a giant, but as Shakespeare says, it is tyrannous to use it as a giant. England has it fully in her power not to grant us anything we may ask for, but she should not abuse her power. What we say to her is this. If our request is a reasonable one, grant it ; if it is not, tell us why it is not reasonable. (*Applause.*) If you do not think us fit to govern ourselves, if you think we cannot understand our own finances, and say what we can and what we cannot spend considering what our means are ; if you think you are better judges of it, pray devote a little time and attention to the consideration of these matters. If you cannot find time to do so, permit *us*, pray, to do it. Why make us suffer by reason of your inability to attend to our concerns, and by preventing us from attending to them, from doing what we are most anxious to do, not only in our own interests but in the interests of the Government as well. (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, I speak, I must confess, rather strongly, it may be, even bitterly, but that is because I feel so keenly on the subject. We believe that the existing administration is too costly for our people, that they are growing poorer and poorer under it. We ask

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that the expenditure should be reduced. We pray that a Commission may be appointed to inquire into the matter. Our prayer is not heeded ; however, when much Pressure was brought to bear upon the Government, they appointed a Finance Committee, and instituted *secret* inquiries into the condition of the people, during the time of Lord Dufferin. But they have never yet given us that comprehensive above-board inquiry into the whole administration, which we want, and which we believe to be essential for the betterment of our condition. Now, at last, when they have appointed a Commission, they would mar its usefulness by circumscribing the limits of its inquiry too narrowly. Why are we not satisfied with this Commission ? First, because we are told it will inquire only into the propriety or otherwise of the expenditure incurred on our behalf, without inquiring into the lines of policy which necessitate it, and our ability to bear it. Secondly, because it is not coming out to take evidence here. Just fancy. When a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the question of retaining or not retaining the Oqium Revenue, the Commission came out to this country and took evidence. The Commissioners travelled from one part of India to the other, and that was only one item in the large account-sheet of the Government of India. But this expenditure Commission, which is to deal with

the entire administration of Indian revenues, is to hold its sittings in London only ! This Commission is not coming out to record any evidence in India ! If any one supposes that, under these circumstances, we can have a fair and satisfactory inquiry, I must say, I differ from him. I cannot understand how any one could arrive at such a conclusion. Do you expect the people of India to travel in any large numbers to England to give evidence before the Commission, and would it be of much use if a few of us went there to do so ? What would be the evidence of a few Indians, of however well-informed they might be, before the large body of evidence which will be given before the Commission by retired Anglo-Indian officials, now living in England, who will, with a few honorable exceptions, endeavour to justify the prevailing policy and practice of the Government of India. Gentlemen, unless the Commission comes out to India, I feel satisfied that the result of its labours will prove more injurious than otherwise to the true interests of India. (*Cheers*)

I suppose, gentlemen, you have heard of or read Mr. Fawcett's Parliamentary Committee which sat from 1871 to 1874 to consider the state of Indian Finances. That Committee recorded extremely valuable evidence. Two of our fellow-countrymen, one of them being no other than Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, (*Loud Cheers.*) and the other being Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee,

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appeared before the Committee and gave evidence. Among the other witnesses examined were some very able and renowned administrators of India, one of them being the late Lord Lawrence. The evidence they gave covered a large area. The facts, figures, and arguments they put forward, showed conclusively that it was extremely desirable to curtail Indian Expenditure ; that it was extremely desirable to keep ourselves within the natural confines of the border of India ; that it was extremely desirable not to enhance the taxation which even then was considered to be high, to meet the increasing expenditure, but to economise in all directions, to secure the contentment of the people. All that evidence stands recorded. And I doubt if this Commission can obtain better, if not even equally good, evidence now in England on these subjects. It ought to come out to examine witnesses in every Province and city of India, and to enquire from persons who have a direct personal knowledge of the matter, what the actual state of things here is, and how the administration, as at present carried on, is influencing the lives and happiness of the great mass of the population. If this is not done, the evidence which it will record in England, might serve, in a large measure, as a counterpoise to the evidence recorded by Mr. Fawcett's Committee, which is very favourable to the views of the party of reform here, and might be used

to silence us, but it cannot afford materials for sound conclusions. If however, they want to find out simply whether the expenditure incurred is in itself not excessive, without any reference to the ability of the people of India to bear it, I must say I fail to see the wisdom of those who appointed the Commission for such a purpose. Did you ever hear of anything more preposterous than this—that without inquiring into the ability of any particular individual or community to bear any given amount of expenditure, without any reference to his means, you will enquire and decide that such and such expenditure is either proper or improper in the case of that individual or community? You cannot do it. That the Commission may be of any earthly use, and may entitle its recommendations to any weight in the minds of reasonable men, it must inquire into the capacity of the Indian people to bear the existing public expenditure. It must inquire whether their *means* permit of their having the civil and military services maintained at the present high scale of salaries. It must enquire and find out whether these services cannot be obtained at a cheaper rate, whether a larger employment of the children of the soil will not secure a great and a much-needed relief to the tax-paying community in India. Unless all this is done, no one should expect the Commission to be productive of any substantial

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good to the country. (*Cheers.*) (The President here touched the gong.)

I am afraid I have occupied too much of your time. (*No, no!*) So I will close my remarks very briefly. (*Cries of 'Go on!'*) I will not disobey the chair though I thank you for this kindly expression of your feeling. I will only say this now: I ask English gentlemen, I ask the people of England to seriously consider the position in which India is placed. That position is simply this. Educated Indians, representing the cultured intelligence of the country, have been praying for an enquiry, a full and fair enquiry, into the administration of this country during the last forty years. We have impeached that administration on almost every conceivable ground. We charge the Government of England, with having saddled us with an unnecessarily costly expenditure on the Civil Service of India, we charge them with having forced upon us a crushingly heavy military expenditure. We charge them with indulging in a great waste of India's money beyond the borders of India; we charge them with want of fairness in their dealings with India in the matter of the Home Charges; nay, more, we charge them—the Government of India, the Government of England, and the people of England with them,—with being responsible by reason of their neglect to adequately perform their

duty towards India, for the loss of millions of lives which are lost in every decade from starvation, largely the result of over-taxation and inefficient administration. (*Cheers.*) We charge the people of England, because as some one has said,

“Hear him, ye senates, hear this truth sublime,
He who allows oppression shares the crime.”

(*Loud Cheers.*)

If the English Parliament, if the people of England, who have solemnly taken upon themselves the duty of governing India, by reason of their neglect to do that duty properly, allow any loss of life to occur in India which they could prevent, they are surely answerable before God and man for that loss of life. In the face of such an impeachment, does it become the great English people and the English Parliament to give us a lame Commission, to inquire imperfectly into one branch only of this administration? Would it not become them rather to stand up, like true Englishmen, and say: “We shall face all these various charges, and either prove them to be untrue, or admit that they are true and make amends for them.” The charges are not of a light nature, nor are they lightly made and if the English people do not care to inquire into them in the interests of their empire, if they care not to do so in the interests of suffering humanity, if they do it not even as a matter of duty, let them do it

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at least for the sake of England, which, I hope and trust, is still dear to every Englishman. (*Loud and prolonged Cheers.*)

ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDIAN EXPENDITURE.

IN moving the following resolution of the thirteenth Indian National Congress held at Amraoti in 1897 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

That this Congress rejoices that the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure was pleased to decide to admit the public to its proceedings, and further desires to express its grateful acknowledgements for the opportunity afforded by the Honourable Commission to representative Indian witnesses to state fully the case on behalf of India. With regard to the three divisions of the reference the Congress desires most respectfully to submit the following prayers for the favourable consideration of the Honourable Commission :—

(i) As regards the Machinery to control Indian Expenditure, it is prayed—(1) that the non-official Members of the Viceroy's Council may be made more directly representative of the Indian people, and that they may have the right to move amendments and divide the Council upon the provisions of the Budget ; (2) that a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience may be nominated to the Council of the Secretary of state on the recommendation of the elected Members of the Viceroy's

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and Local Legislative Councils ; and (3) that each year a Select Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed to inquire into and report upon the financial condition of India ;

(ii) As regards the progress of Expenditure, it is prayed that the Military and other unproductive expenditure be reduced, that larger amounts be spent in promoting the welfare and the progress of the people, and a large saving and a more efficient administration may be obtained by the substitution, as far as practicable, of Indian for European agency in the higher grades of the Public service; and

(iii) As regards apportionment of charges, it is prayed that the Imperial Treasury may bear a fair proportion of all expenditure in which the common interests of India and the rest of the empire are involved and especially that the expenses of the war beyond the frontier may be largely borne by the Imperial Exchequer. Lastly, that it be an instruction to the President to submit a copy of this Resolution under his own signature to the Chairman of the Royal commission with the least practicable delay.

Gentlemen, my task is easy. Every one of you who has either attended previous Congresses, or who has studied Congress literature, must be aware that this resolution only crystallises the opinions which have been repeatedly expressed at previous Congresses. Go through the report of the Congresses of earlier years,

and you will find that almost every one of these propositions has been discussed at full length at previous sittings. Besides, the arguments necessary to support the prayers, have been lately put forward so admirably and so fully by our honored friends, who appeared before the Royal Commission to give evidence on behalf of the Indian people, that it would be taking up your time unnecessarily were I to go into those reasons, and explain those arguments. Gentlemen, you will perceive that, so far as the first prayer is concerned, regarding the machinery of control of Indian expenditure, at the very first sitting of the Congress the question was discussed, and there we desired the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, and asked for the appointment of a Standing Committee of the House of Commons to control the expenditure of India in a better way than had been done. If to-day, you are asked by this Congress to pass this resolution, it is only to put briefly in the form of a relief added to a complaint or petition, the case that you want the Commission to consider, and also to put the stamp of your approval and to give your further support to all these resolutions which are scattered over the Congress reports of previous years. I hope that the fact of this resolution being passed by the Congress to-day will further strengthen the hands of those honorable members of the Commission who are inclined, and I hope all

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of them are so inclined, to grant some concession, to recommend some measure of relief, in equity and justice, to the people of India in the matter of expenditure. (Cheers.) It will make it clear to them that the Congress representing the diverse provinces of India, representing at the least, to satisfy the most difficult mind, the most educated community of India, that this Congress supports this prayer in the best way it can. And if they want further to satisfy themselves of the constitution of the Congress only in order that they may be better able to judge of the weight they should attach to these resolutions, let them look at the list of delegates who have attended previous Congresses, and I am sure they will be satisfied that there is no province of India in which the very best portion of the educated community has not most strongly supported this resolution. (Cheers.) It is hardly necessary for me to detain you very long, but with your permission I will briefly say a few words before I resume my seat. You will admit that it is indisputable, that the machinery to control Indian expenditure, is at the best, very defective, and works very freely so far as the interests of India are concerned. You know, gentlemen, that there is a clash of interests to a great extent. The Indian people are not represented in the Councils, either Executive or Legislative, in the

manner in which the British people are represented in the Parliament of England, so that they may have a voice in directing or controlling expenditure. The people who do form the Executive Council—the active portion of it—are persons who are not the payers of the taxes, to use the words of the late Mr. Bright, but persons who are the spenders of the taxes—both members of the Civil service and of the Military service. I do not mean to insinuate that they are reckless, that they are regardless of the interests of India. But when the question comes to be that they have to spend the money towards which they contribute but little, there is not the same anxious consideration shown as to how and when the money shall be found, as it would undoubtedly be if the money was largely to come out of their own pockets. There is further, this difficulty that the House of Commons in England though nominally all powerful, are practically powerless against them. Representations made against Government have failed in the past, and have had very little effect. There is another instance which shows that the machinery is very feeble and not sufficient to protect Indian interests. When you have other interests which might be called the interests of the capitalists in England, you find that contracts have been entered into between companies for working this line or that line which has been proved to have been undertaken

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without due regard to the interests of India. In all this you will find that the machinery of control is very defective, and you have had lately a painful instance to support that view. Looking to the civil side of it only a few years ago you had an expenditure of a crore and a half of rupees added to the expenditure of the country in the way of exchange compensation allowance to the highly paid Civil service of India. Gentlemen, is it possible that a proposal involving such a huge expenditure, at a time when the country could least bear it, could have been rushed through and carried out by the executive Government of any country in which the expenditure was properly controlled? And is there a single man who can deny that it was an act of great injustice to the people of India? With regard to the military side of the question, my esteemed friends who have preceded me, have shown to you how burden after burden has been heaped upon the back of the poor Indian ryot—heaped without the least justification—by Burma being annexed to the Indian Empire and by war being undertaken on the Afghan frontier—the whole of this expenditure being laid upon the back of that poor Indian ryot. We protested in the strongest manner we could, at the very first congress, as Mr. Wacha could say. We asked that if Burma should be annexed, England should defray the cost, and that Burma should be constituted

a crown colony. But our voice was like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. And eighteen crores more were taken out of our revenues to meet the expenses of Upper Burma! Then again, gentlemen, look at these frontier wars. These have been undertaken in the past and are being continued in the present without a due regard for Indian interests. On that point, however, I need not detain you longer, because we must be thankful that some of the great statesmen of the Liberal party in England have at last awakened to the seriousness of the situation, their liberal consciences have been stirred up, and I hope they will not rest satisfied until they obtain a reversal of that policy, which entails so much unnecessary expenditure on India and which has fearfully embarrassed the finances of this poor country. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, how is it that all this is going on under the otherwise, generally speaking, excellent administration of Great Britain? How is it that the money is so easily obtained? If a vote had to be obtained in the House of Commons for the borrowing of a crore of rupees there would be a discussion and a division in the House and the ministers would have to give cogent reasons why the borrowing was necessary. Here the Government of India and the Secretary of State might decide at any moment to launch a loan of four or five crores of rupees. The borrowers find it easy enough

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to be extravagant. Those who have to find the money, to save the money out of their own real income, find it hard to spend more than their means justify. And so it is that the facility of borrowing and the absolute absence, I might say practically speaking, of any check upon the borrowing tendency of the Government of India, which is sometimes supposed to be a matter of congratulation, but in this instance happens to be somewhat of a curse, I say that the facility with which the Government of India can borrow and the absence of any check have led them to multiply our national debt ever so large that now we stand indebted to over hundred crores. Gentlemen, if there were a discussion in the Council and we were permitted to question whether this loan was necessary or whether some of these things should not be put off for some time and whether the expenditure should not be curtailed in some other way, perhaps the necessity of borrowing would not be so great as it seems to be to the Government of India at present and perhaps the debt of India would not have multiplied so fast as it has in the past. Now coming to the civil aspect of the question, gentlemen, I have already referred to the exchange compensation allowance; I have already referred to the growth in military expenditure and when you look at the total figure you find that it has been growing enormously. But has there been a proportionate increase in the

capacity of the people to bear an increased taxation? Has there been a proportionate increase in the national income of the people of India? I wish there had been. If there had been a proportionate increase in the tax-paying capability of the people of India, no one would have rejoiced more than ourselves to find that it was so and no one would have been more glad than the Congress people and the people of India generally to contribute whatever was necessary to carry out the administration of the country in the most efficient manner. (*Cheers.*) Unfortunately, gentlemen, while our taxation has been multiplying by leaps and bounds, while our debt has been growing enormously there has not been the increase in the national income which we might have expected under the rule of Great Britain. Coming then, gentlemen, to the proposals put forward to supply a check, what are they? Are they reasonable? Or would they hamper the Government in carrying on the administration of the country? I ask our strongest opponent, if there be any in this hall, to give this matter the closest consideration and to consider for himself, to ask his conscience whether the proposals that we put forward are not moderation and reasonableness themselves. What do we say? We say, "make the members of the council of the Viceroy of India more directly representative of the Indian people". Just now you nominate them after

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they have undergone a very diluted process of election by a very small number of the members of certain Boards. We say "make them more directly representative"—We do not put forward any scheme—"in the best way you think proper, but do make them more representative". You have them there, you must have them there, now that the Act has been passed. We only ask that they should have a better claim to speak in the name of the Indian people, and that the people may have more confidence in them than they can now have under present circumstances by asking them to make them more directly representative of the people. Suppose this proposal is carried out, would the Government be hampered in carrying on its work? The official majority will always be strong in the council; Government having the official majority will be able to carry out every proposal that it thinks it must, in the interest of the Empire. And all that we would be entitled to do is to vote and to divide the Council. What would be the result, gentlemen, think for a moment, when Government know that these members of the council have power to divide and discuss and vote in that fashion. All unsound proposals, at any rate all proposals the soundness of which and the necessity for which will not be supremely clear, would be kept back by the Government of India. Those only would be brought forward, as a rule, speaking

generally,—some at least of those proposals that are so easily put forward, and rushed forward will not be rushed forward, so easily and the Government will keep them back—those only will be brought forward that must be carried. They will undoubtedly be carried if the Government decide that they must be carried because they will have the official majority ; but in the majority of instances the fact that the additional elected members of Council have recorded a vote against them have entered their protest and have divided the Council would exercise a very salutary check on the Government of India (*Cheers*), and would be very effective as a control. Then, gentlemen, what do we ask? Next, we ask, that a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience may be appointed to the Council of the Secretary of State. You remember that times without number we asked for the abolition of that council ; we asked ‘if you don’t abolish it, improve it ; either end it, or mend it.’ If you don’t end it, Pray mend it. As it stands, it does so very little good, and I am very sorry to say, as we believe, does us a lot of mischief. We ought to have one or two more representative Indians, men like our esteemed friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerji (*Cheers*) and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, (Loud and continued applause) who command the confidence of the entire people of India and whose presence there, will be a guarantee that the

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Indian side of the question will be fairly and fully placed before the council before it decides to take any definite action. It cannot be said that we cannot supply men who can usefully serve on the council when I have given you these two instances. Then we suggest that a committee of the House of Commons may be appointed. You can understand the importance of such a proposal. The report of such a committee to the House of Commons will carry great weight in any recommendations that it may make and the members of the House of Commons who cannot, as matters stand, give that attention and interest to Indian questions which our real welfare demands, they should, will certainly be able to look at the report of the Select Committee, and all the salient points will be easily and effectively discussed in Parliament to the great good of India, and England too. Gentlemen, as regards the progress of expenditure, one thing that we recommend is that the unproductive expenditure should be reduced. Need I say anything to support that view? Who will say that such unproductive expenditure should be carried on as it has been carried on in the past, while a reform of such urgency which would lead to the well-being of the people, as the separation of the Executive and Judicial functions, or a reform of even greater emergency than that, *viz.* the education of the poor of the country, is neglected and ignored practi-

cally? Considering the amount that is spent on frontier policy and on other matters, the amount spent on education is but a trifle. Who would say that the Government of India should not divert its attention to this question and spend more money upon this than it has done in the past? We say that a larger saving and more efficient administration may be obtained by the substitution of Indian for European agency for higher grades of the Public Service. Gentlemen, I do not know that I need dwell at great length upon the subject, but there are a few points connected with it which I beg of you to allow me to place before you. We have been so long under British rule. No honest Indian who has not lost his head can fail to recognise and freely acknowledge the great blessings that we have enjoyed, do enjoy under British rule. (*Cheers.*) But at the same time the education that the British people themselves have imparted to us, and for which we feel thankful and for which they need not feel sorry that same education has enabled us to understand many questions. The government have lifted us to a certain level, but some people want to keep us hanging in the air. So we say to government, 'let us go up, Some Anglo-Indians wish that we should go down. But the English principles of constitutional government are too strong to permit of that course being followed. We say "pull us up a little bit and we shall be more

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thankful and more loyal." Now what do we find? In these matters of service you find that during these many years, numerous proofs, which can be seen in any direction that any man might throw his eyes upon, have been afforded of the loyalty, the deep abiding loyalty, both of the princes and the people of India. (Cheers.) The government are fully satisfied that the native army is loyal. Let us begin with that. Government have had a splendid proof of the loyalty of the brave sikhs and of other soldiers that have been fighting on the frontier. The Government and the whole English speaking world, the civilized world which has read accounts of the valorous deeds of the twenty-seven Sikhs who died at Sheergon (*Cheers,*) have generously and justly given the due measure of praise to the valorous Sikhs and other soldiers who have fought and died there for the glory of the British Crown. Now, Gentlemen, we are happy to know that there is a universal feeling amongst Anglo-Indians and Indians also, that the memory of these deeds should be properly perpetuated. I do not think that there can be any better course adopted to do that than to recognise that hence forward these restrictions which prevent Indians of merit in the army from rising to the topmost ladder of the service shall be no more; let it be remembered that these twenty seven Sikhs who died at Sheergon have with their blood, sealed the doom of that policy

which prevents Indians who have served their sovereign and their country right loyally and valorously from rising, as European members of the service, do rise, to the higher grades of the military service. (*Cheers*) I am sure that any other recognition or reward of that merit, pardon me for saying so, becomes trifling so long as this has not been done. Gentlemen, that much for the native army. I must now be brief, for I have already trespassed a good deal on your attention. Gentlemen, coming now to the Civil services; In the Civil service of the country you find that a great bulk of the work, the most important work is carried on by Indian agency. Government trust us with all that. It is only at the head of the district, it is only at the head of an executive body, that they insist upon having a European member in most instances. We say, "is not the century of English rule during which you have entrusted us with your secrets, during which we have helped you to carry on the administration of the country to our good and to your glory, enough to satisfy you of the fidelity and trustworthiness of the natives who have received education and whom you have appointed to these services"? If this is not so, then I say it is a very sad commentary upon the English rule in India. I claim it has been so, it is proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Indians to whatever post, they have been

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appointed, whether as High Court Judges, or as Commissioners of Divisions or as Collectors of Districts or holding any other responsible situations, have been true to their salt and sovereign, they have acted as gentlemen of education and position as any European gentlemen of education and position would have acted under such circumstances. Where then is the justification, where then is the excuse for keeping up this state of things? Why not permit Indians more freely to join the service and to rise to the top, if they show the necessary merit and qualification for it? The result would be largely to the good of India and greatly to your glory. There would be a great saving effected in the administration of the country. So well-informed a writer as Sir William Hunter has said that the interests of the administration demand now a large substitution of the Indian element for the European. The money is not forthcoming, you have exhausted the resources of the country, and if you go on paying for the services of European members of the service at the high rate you do, and if you go on multiplying their number and thereby multiply the liability for exchange compensation, you will find that you will become bankrupt one day if you are not already far from it. Therefore, people have suggested wisely that you should substitute a large Indian element in the administration of the Empire. I need not

dwell upon the other branches of administration. But is it at all becoming the high civilisation of great Britain, is it at all befitting, is it at all compatible with, the enlightened Government which has obtained for centuries in Great Britain, that the British Government should have to be told to take a leaf out of the pages of the great Mogul Emperor, to find a parallel for these things? Is it necessary for us to tell them that under the rule of Akbar a Todar Mall was appointed Finance Minister, and a Birbal was appointed Governor? If these things happened in the days of Akbar, why should not they happen in the time of a far greater sovereign than Akbar, the great Queen-Empress of India? Well, gentlemen, I must close now. The third portion of the resolution is that which relates to the apportionment of charges. About that I need not say much because several members of Parliament and other influential men in England have already expressed the opinion that military and other charges should be borne partly by Indian and partly by England. Let me ask you one question, what prevents all these reforms from being carried out? I say, the demon of distrust. I say slay him now. We ask our rulers to do it. You will find that the weapon forced by the gentle hand of the Government and noble Queen of England, forced 40 years ago when she wrote out that Proclamation upon which we take our stand, the weapon is gentle

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and it will certainly destroy that demon of distrust, if you will only carry out the policy that was inaugurated by the Queen of England in the year 1858. If you honestly give effect to these pledges which Her Majesty gave us after the Mutiny I am sure all this distrust will give way, and you will find the rulers will be able to repose greater trust in the people. Trust will beget trust which will add to the affection of the people and will add generally to the happiness and prosperity of the inhabitants of the Empire; and the glory to England will be great. England has begun with trusting the people; it began to trust us when it began to educate us, and now having trusted us for such a long time, having placed nearly three-fourths of the Civil administration in our hands, having appointed us so largely to the army; acting upon that trust which has never yet been betrayed and which never shall be betrayed does it become England now to ponder and say that it is not proper to employ Indians in the higher ranks of the service? Do away with distrust. Act upon the principles laid down by the Queen, and you will find that these principles will lead to great prosperity of the people, the curtailment of expenditure and to the enlistment of Indians in the higher grades, and the stream of mutual good-will, among the people, and among the rulers and the ruled, flow more to the greater happiness of both,

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and will lead to all those feelings of distrust, sometimes of desperation, being done away with, which just now hamper the hands of Government and so much hamper the educated Indians. (Loud and continued applause.)

THE BUNDELKHAND ALIENATION OF LAND BILL.

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made the following speech at a meeting of the Allahabad Legislative Council held on 19th January 1903 under the presidency of his honour the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James John Digges Latouche, K. C. S. I.

YOUR HONOUR,—The Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill is entitled to the best thanks of the Council for the very able manner in which he has placed the Bill before it. The measure is one of great importance and of an exceptional character. The Council has to consider whether it is justified by the circumstances of the case, and likely to prove beneficial in the long run to those for whose benefit it is proposed. The indebtedness of the landholders of Bundelkhand is deplorable. But the question is, what are the causes that have brought it about? We all know that Bundelkhand is peculiarly liable to seasonal calamities. The crops are entirely dependent on the rainfall. No part of the country is secure from draught. There is little irrigation. Even a partial failure of the rains leads to scarcity and to famine. In the richer soils a heavy rainfall gives rise to the growth of that pestilent weed,

kans, which turns thriving villages into so many wildernesses. The population is sparse. Tenants are more in demand than land. Such being the case, it is not difficult to understand that owners of land in Bundelkhand should not be as prosperous as their brethren in other parts of the United Provinces. Land and land-owners there require special treatment. Under the Mahratta rule, which preceded the British Government, the system of collecting *jama* which obtained in Bundelkhand was what is known as the annual *ryatwari* system. The *jama* was determined every year by the *dekha parkhi* system, i.e., by an appraisement of the standing crop. Along with it prevailed the *bhej barar* tenure under which the actual area ploughed by a co-sharer regulated the quota of the land revenue demand for which he was responsible, and the *del kudal* custom which provided for a variation of the rent by reason of the rotation of crops. It would seem that the system was well suited to the country where the seasons and harvests were so uncertain and the assets consequently so fluctuating. When the British Government took charge of the country, they introduced long-term settlements based on a calculation of the average produce of several years. These settlements were not only for long terms, but they were also unfortunately immoderate and excessive in many instances. It would be tiresome to go into their history.

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It would be sufficient here to say that in reviewing the report of the settlement of the Jhansi district in 1873, the Government of these Provinces said that the past history of the district showed that it had suffered both from over-assessment and depredations, and on this ground sanctioned a reduction of the revenue demand by about 22 per cent. In 1881 Mr. Cadell revised the settlement of the Banda district and considerably reduced the assessment. The assessment was regarded as very light as compared with the previous assessment. But the Board of Revenue approved it and justified it on the ground that the past fiscal history of the Banda district is one of continuous disaster, caused in the first instance by severe assessments, and by the application of what time and after-experience showed to be inadequate remedies. At about the same time, the assessments in Lalitpur and Hamipur districts were also revised, and greatly reduced. In fact for more than twenty years a succession of able officers of Government have laboured earnestly to mitigate the rigour of the earlier settlements and the assessments have been comparatively, very much lightened. But the evil effects of an over-assessment once made do not lie out with the moderation of the land revenue demand at a subsequent settlement. As the Board of Revenue pointed out in reviewing the Hamirpur Settlement Report in 1881, "over-assessment for only a short period

must have put many of the Revenue payers into the money-lenders' books, and once there, they could not free themselves from the heavy burden of debt thus incurred." I would ask the Council to bear this in mind in considering how far the Zamindars are to blame for being indebted. It has also to be remembered that in addition to the evil of over-assessment, the rigidity of the system of collecting the land revenue has also had its share in driving the landowners into the clutches of the money-lender. In forwarding the admirable and exhaustive report of the last settlement of the Jhansi district prepared by the Hon'ble Mr. Impey and the Hon'ble Mr. Meston, the Board of Revenue pointed out the necessity of leniency in collecting the revenue, even as it had then been fixed at a reduced sum. 'While however,' said the Board, 'the revised demand is recommended as a fair standard assessment which should be collected in all ordinary years, it is not to be expected that in a poor and insecure district, it will always be pain when rigidly collected ; and the revenue has been fixed on the understanding that in seasons of drought, scarcity, or abnormal calamity, relief will be given as circumstances may require.' In reviewing the report, the Government was pleased to note :— ' The revised demand is a fair standard assessment which should be collected in all ordinary years. As Mr. Impey

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remarks in the final paragraph of the report. Jhansi has suffered at different periods in the past from a too rigid collection of the demand and on the other hand from an over-readiness to propose reductions should the least difficulty in collection arise.' It is also clear that the assessment of revenue which was only a fair standard assessment which could be collected in only ordinary years, required much care in collection and precautionary action in order that it might not press hard upon the people. And I am sure, landowners in Bundelkhand will rejoice and be deeply thankful to your Honour's Government and to the Government of India, when they hear that the Government has decided to reduce the revenue demand by 7½ lakhs.

I submit, sir, that the facts and circumstances to which I have invited the attention of the Council, afford an obvious explanation of much of the indebtedness of the zamindars in Bundelkhand. The natural and physical cause, the entire dependence of the cultivation on rainfall, the absence of sufficient means of irrigation, and the existence of the *kans* combined with the operation of fiscal laws and rules, unsuited to the peculiar condition of the country, have, in my humble judgment, in no small measure contributed to the unfortunate position in which Bundelkhand stands at present. At any rate, it has not been shown that

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the indebtedness of the zamindars in Bundelkhand and the tract with which the Bill deals is chiefly or even largely due to vicious or extravagant ways of living of the people connected with land. The people of Bundelkhand are known to be a simple people. Their indebtedness is no doubt deplorable; but no statistics or statements have been placed before the Council to show how much of the debts they have incurred has been incurred for private purposes for which the people might be accountable, and how much for purposes over which they had no control. The Bill which proposes practically to deprive them of the power of transferring their land is based chiefly on the ground that they require to be protected against their own action in incurring improper debts. I beg respectfully to submit that no case has been made out to justify the passing of such an exceptionally severe measure, and I hope that the Hon'ble Members of the Council will much hesitate before they assent to its introduction.

I object, Sir, to the measure also because it is one about the soundness and expediency of which opinions are much divided. I do not wish to go here into the question whether or not the power of transferring land was possessed and enjoyed by the people of Bundelkhand before the British Government took it in hand. Settlement reports would show that at any rate Thakur

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communities did enjoy rights of a proprietary character. It is sufficient to note that ever since British rule was extended to Bundelkhand, the Government has recognised the right of holders of land to transfer it by sale or otherwise. Indeed in the early days of British Rule the growth of such right was deliberately encouraged by the Government where it did not exist, as it was believed that that would induce people to invest capital in land and to improve it. That right has now been enjoyed by the people of Bundelkhand for nearly a hundred years in some parts and for more than fifty years in other parts and it would seem evidently wrong to deprive them of it now. When a similar proposal was put forward in 1890, Lord Lansdowne no doubt recorded his view that measures for restricting the right of land transfer were probably indispensable, if the evil was to be held in check ; but His Excellency went on to admit that the thing was undoubtedly wrong from a purely economical point of view, and he would agree to it only because he thought there was a serious political danger to be dealt with and his Lordship could see no way out of it but that proposal. What was wrong from an economical point of view could not be politically sound, and the conditions under which an extreme measure like the one proposed might be accepted have not been shown to exist. The proposal to restrict the right of transferring land has several times been considered in

the past; but many high officials of Government of these Provinces, who possessed experience of the country and the people have expressed themselves against it. When the people will not be able to give the security of land to their creditors, the only security which will practically be left to them will be their moveable property; and I may cite here the opinion of Sir William Muir expressed in 1873 as to what the effect will be. Sir William says: — ‘The only security being moveable property, houses, standing crops, and so on a man would be compelled to pledge these, and we should see what has been illustrated in Jhansi. The debtor would become the slave of his creditor; the annual profits of his land would be swept away by the money-lender in payment not of the principal, but of the annual accumulation of interest. You would retain your proprietors on the land, no doubt; but you would take from them all that makes land worth having.’ Sir Auckland Colvin said in 1875: ‘I am opposed to any general scheme of prohibiting sale of land in execution of decrees of Civil Courts, because I think so sweeping a measure unnecessary, because I should be very averse to prohibiting absolutely the transfer of land, which must, I think, follow the more partial measure, and because we cannot foresee the effects of such a measure on credit—a matter of extreme importance, when viewed, especially with a *ryatwari* system

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in its relation to our rigid system of land revenue payments.' The Hon'ble Mover of the Bill referred to the opinion of Mr. B. Colvin regarding the condition of the people of Bundelkhand. I would invite the attention of the Council to the opinion which that experienced official expressed in the Viceroy's Council in 1880, about the very subject which the Council is now considering. Said Mr. Colvin : It has been said that to confer proprietary rights on a portion of the people was to give them a new and easy means of raising money, and that once in debt they were irresistibly drawn into destruction by the money-lenders and the action of our Civil Courts. There is truth in this, no doubt : but it hardly serves to explain why the whole body of landed proprietors should be in such urgent and general want of money. . . . I believe that the principal causes which have plunged the great body of the landowners of Jhansi into hopeless debt must be sought elsewhere. . . . I speak with much diffidence on a matter regarding which there is room for great differences of opinion ; but there are two causes which, operating together, seem to me to explain a great deal of the present debts and difficulties of the Jhansi zamindars. The first is, that in changing from a *ryatwari* to a zamindari tenure, we considerably reduced the number of persons who were responsible for the revenue and so decreased the security for it. The second is

that we made the revenue at the same time for more difficult to pay by changing it from a varying share of the produce, which depended on the harvest to a fixed money payment. We added in fact, to the burden of the revenue and then laid it on fewer persons. I think it is certain that, sooner or later, the newly-made zamindars must have broken down. And after referring to the additional causes, such as famine, murrain and drought, Mr. Colvin stated it as his conviction that no scheme would be successful which did not permanently provide for modifying the revenue system so as to adjust it to the variations in the annual produce of the harvests.

Two years later another eminent official, who possessed great knowledge and experience of the revenue administration of these Provinces, and of the peculiar conditions of Bundelkhand, gave expression to a similar opinion in the Viceroy's Council. Sir Charles Crosthwaite said :—

“ I feel bound to say this much, that, having seen the flourishing state of the Central Provinces, where the same system existed under native rule, and where we pursued exactly the same course, I cannot admit that those persons are right who attribute the greatest share in the effects which we deplore to what they call the ‘ fatal gift of proprietary right.’ The possession of the proprietary right, no doubt was a condition

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which enabled them to obtain money. But it was not the cause of their requiring it. We ought to look to our revenue system and our revenue administration. . . . It is quite true that during the last decade, since their state has become known, and their inability to pay has been recognised, the Government has dealt with them in a liberal manner. But it is a fault in our system that such knowledge comes too late and that we hardly ever remit revenue or revise an assessment until the mischief has been done. . . . In conclusion I have to say exactly what Mr. Colvin said. I believe that until the revenue system is altered, there is no security against the recurrence and extension of the Jhansi difficulties."

Coming to more recent times, we find that in the year, 1895, the Board of Revenue of the United Provinces then represented by the Hon'ble Mr. Cadell as the Senior member and the Hon'ble Mover of the Bill as its Secretary, in forwarding the very valuable reports of the settlement of Jhansi prepared by the Hon'ble Mr. Impey, expressed themselves in the clearest and most emphatic terms against the proposal to take away the right of transfer from the landholders. The Board said: "The right of permanent transfer has been described as the root of the evil of indebtedness in Jhansi; but it may be doubted whether the financial condition of the landholders would materially improve

if they were deprived of the power of selling their estates. Mr. Impey's remarks on this point (paragraph 112) merit consideration. In the villages acquired from Gwalior, where sale was not possible, the Zamindars were found to be as bankrupt as those in the older territory; and in *Ubari* estates, where the penalty of a full assessment on transfer act as a bar to sale, the *Ubaridars* are often in a state of bondage to the money lenders, who are the real, though not the ostensible, proprietors. The problem of indebtedness in Jhansi cannot be completely solved by special legislation or by revoking what has been called the fatal gifts of proprietary right. More is to be hoped from the gradual development of the district, which with a fair assessment and firm but considerate revenue administration, may encourage the growth of habits of economy and thrift."

I submit, Sir, that these opinions embody the convictions of many very able officials of Government who had studied the Bundelkhand problem in all its aspects on the spot; and I hope that the Council will not lightly put them aside. And I beg respectfully to ask what has happened to show that a proposal which had again and again been rejected by competent advisers of Government, should now be regarded as sound. It is said experience has proved that notwithstanding the fact that the landholders of Jhansi were

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released of the burden of their debts by means of the Jhansi Encumbered Estates Act only a few years ago, they have again fallen into debt. The fact is, I admit, most deplorable. But again the question is, what was it that has put them into their present condition? It is difficult to believe that the whole body of zamindars should be willing without good and sufficient cause to encumber their estates with debt or to undergo the risk of losing their land to which they are deeply attached. The absence of statistics showing what their debts were due to, is most embarrassing. And it has yet to be shown, I submit that they were to blame for having fallen into debt so soon again. The other point is that a similar Act has been passed in the Punjab. As the Hon'ble Mover of the Bill said, the time that has elapsed since the passing of the act has been too short to admit of any definite opinions being formed regarding the effects of the measure. It was introduced as an experiment. The Hon'ble Sir Courtney Ilbert in reviewing the measure in the Journal of Comparative Legislation, for December 1901, described it as "interesting to the students of land laws as an attempt to revive and enforce restrictions which in Western countries would be considered archaic," and said that "from the administrative point of view, it must be pronounced *a bold and hazardous experiment*, the effects of which no prophet will be confi-

dent enough to predict with any degree of assurance." The only experience that has yet been gained of the Act in the Punjab is that in general, money-lenders are unwilling to lend money on the security of any of the forms of mortgage permitted by the Act. Under these circumstances I humbly suggest that the Council should postpone consideration of the proposal until more experience has been gained of the working of the similiar Act in the Punjab.

I do not wish to take up the time of the Council by dwelling upon the other objections to the Bill, because they were very fully and forcibly pointed out in the Viceroy's Legislative Council when the Panjab Bill was under consideration. It is undeniable that the proposed restriction of the right of transfer will diminish the value of land and curtail the credit of the land-owner. The value of land will be reduced not merely as a security, but also as transferable property, even when it should be transferred with the sanction of the Collector. Particularly will that result follow, because practically the vendor will have to sell his land to some member of his own tribe on such terms as he may offer. And as your Honor very well knows the zamindars of Bundelkhand are not possessed of much wealth. The rates of interest which the zamindars will have to pay will naturally rise high. The result will be that people will not be encouraged to invest

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their capital in land, and considering that land has already suffered from want of capital in that part of the country, that will be a serious misfortune. It will also lead inevitably to a *morcellement* of land by inheritance among members of the family who own land. I might here also remind the Council that over 90 per cent. of the population of Bundelkhand are Hindus. There already exists in their case a check on improper alienation of land, for under the Hindu Law, even as it is administered by the courts of justice, no member of a joint Hindu family can alienate the family property for any but necessary purposes. In addition to this there is the Court of Wards Act which deals with cases of landholders who cannot deal wisely with their property. Taking all these facts into consideration, I respectfully submit that a case has not been made out to justify the Council in proceeding to a consideration of a Bill which would restrict the power of transferring land. In my humble opinion it would be wise to wait to see the results of the administrative and fiscal measures which the people of Bundelkhand will be deeply thankful to know the Government propose to introduce to ameliorate and improve their condition, by reducing the revenue demand, introducing elastic short-term settlements for five years and where necessary for still shorter periods, and by taking other steps alluded to by the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill. It may

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be that when these measures have had their beneficial operation for some time, the necessity for passing an exceptional measure of the kind under consideration will be found not to exist. I would also ask the Council to wait to see the effects of the Act passed in the Punjab.

LOCAL AND RURAL POLICE RATES BILL

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made the following speech at a meeting of the Allahabad Legislative council held on 8th November 1905 under the Presidentship of the Lieutenant Governor Sir James John Digges Latouche K. C. S. I.

The Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill deserves to be congratulated on the very lucid statement with which he has laid it before the Council. The Bill is an important one, dealing as it does, with the law relating to the imposition of local rates on land which amount in all to over a hundred lakhs and the employment of the proceeds thereof. There are two matters in the Bill which call for special consideration. The first is the question as to what parties ought to contribute to these local rates. As the local rates are devoted to purposes in which both the Government and public are interested, it seems proper that both ought to contribute to build up the fund. I understand that until a few years ago this was recognised, and that out of the total amount of the rent assessed on any village, one-tenth or 10 per cent was set apart for local expenditure, and then the remaining 90 per cent was divided between the Govern-

ment and the landholder. The practice seems to have been altered since 1872. Under the rule that now obtains, out of Rs. 100 assessed as rent, the Government takes away Rs. 50 as Government revenue without any deduction for local expenditure, and out of the remainder only half of the 10 per cent of the assessment is paid by the landholder as local rates. In other words, the Government has added 5 per cent to its revenue and impoverished the local fund to that extent. This is very regrettable. As the Council is aware the proceeds of the local rates are applied to purposes which affect the vital interests of the people, education, sanitation, medical relief, local public works etc., and these proceeds are far too insufficient for the purposes named. The Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill has told us that no great additions will be made by the measure before the Council to the funds of the District Boards. He has also told us that there has been a chronic deficit in the funds of most of the District Boards, and that the deficit has been considerable. Evidently then, it is necessary that the income of the Board should be substantially augmented, if they are to be put in a position to discharge their duties properly. I should like that 15 per cent of the total assessment should first be set aside for local expenditure and then the balance divided between the Government and the landlord. But if that is not

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to be, it is extremely desirable, as it is just, that the Government should restore the old rule, under which besides the 5 per cent contributed by the landlord, 5 per cent more of the rent was set apart as the contribution of the Government for local expenditure and only 45 per cent taken as Government revenue instead of 50 per cent as is now done. The contributions of the people of these Provinces in land revenue to the exchequer of the Government, are greater than those of any other province, and the proportion of revenues raised to what is left to us to spend in these Provinces, on purposes which touch the most vital concerns of the people, is smaller than in any other province. In view of these facts, it is but reasonable to ask the Government to allow us, as before 5 per cent more of the rent to make up the local fund, and to receive only 45 per cent as before as Government revenue. I hope these questions will receive the consideration of the Government and the Council. If the suggestion is accepted, the definition of annual value in clause 2 of the Bill will have to be modified.

The next point to which I wish to draw attention is clause 5 of the Bill. That clause defines the purposes for which the Local Government may in each year appropriate from the proceeds of the local rates in each district such amounts as it may think fit. Whether the Government will augment the district

fund in the way I have suggested or not, I hope that it will at least allow the Boards to use the whole amount of the rates raised in their respective districts, without making any such appropriations as are mentioned there. Even if these appropriations are justifiable, the smallness of the resources of the Boards should induce the Government to leave the proceeds of the rates entirely to them. But the propriety of these appropriations is open to question. The first charge mentioned in the clause is the district post. Now it is understood that the postal department is a profitable concern of the Government, and there is no longer any justification for requiring any district to contribute directly to its income. The second item is the cost of maintaining and repairing such public roads within the district as are not under the control of the District Board. The very fact that the Government has thought it fit to take these roads out of the control of the District Boards, shows that the Government is at least as much interested in keeping them up as the Boards. The Government may, therefore, reasonably be requested to maintain these roads out of the provincial revenues. The third item is to meet expenditure from imperial or provincial revenues on education, sanitation, vaccination, medical relief etc. Here again I would submit that in view of the smallness of the resources of the District Boards and the obligation which rests on the

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Imperial and Provincial Governments to expend a fair portion of the revenues on objects such as those mentioned above, to promote the well-being of the people for whom those revenues are raised. Such general services as are rendered to the district by the provincial or imperial funds, should be paid for out of these funds. Even if the proposed appropriations are not made, the funds at the disposal of the District Boards will not be adequate to enable them to discharge the multifarious duties imposed upon them. If they are made, their position will continue to be deplorable, I hope, that, now, that the matter is under consideration, the need for placing the Boards in a financially healthy position will be fully recognised, and that the Government of India will be pleased to permit to be done. With these remarks I beg to support the motion for leave to introduce the Bill.

THE UNITED PROVINCES DISTRICT BOARDS BILL

In supporting the introduction of the above bill, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made the following speech at a meeting of the Allahabad Legislative Council held on 8th November 1905 under the Presidentship of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor Sir James John Digges Latowche K. C. S. I.

The Bill which it is now sought to introduce into the Council is a measure of great importance for two reasons. In the first place, taken along with the connected Bill which has already been introduced to-day, it is one which has a far-reaching yet immediate bearing on the well-being of the people. In the second place it is a measure which seeks to amend the first Act of local self-Government which was introduced twenty two years ago. That Act was almost the first legislative expression of that policy of local self Government which was introduced twenty-two years ago. That Act was almost the first legislative expression of that policy of local-self-Government with which the honoured name of that statesman, yet, friend to truth, of soul sincere, the noble Marquis of Ripon, will for ever be associated in the grateful minds

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of the people of India. Its object was "to extend local self-Government as a means of political and popular education." The measure gave power to District Boards to manage only small local affairs, such as roads, schools, hospitals, &c. But some of the privileges conferred by it were calculated to bring about a substantial advance in the development of local self-Government in India. The most important among these was the power given to District Boards to elect their own Chairman, superseding the rule by which the District Officer used to be the Chairman ex-officio of the Boards of his district. There was much opposition in some official quarters to this part of the measure, but the objections were considered and effectually answered. Sir (then Mr.) Charles Crosthwaite speaking on this very point in connection with the Bill for local self-Government for a sister Province said :—

"As to the position of the District officers, I wish to say a few words on this point because it is most important that those officers should understand that your Excellency's Government has no intention of setting them aside or putting them in a position in which they would have, as some of them appear to think, great responsibilities without any power of interference or control. I think if any body impartially considers the sections we have drafted regarding the control of these local bodies, then they would

come to the opinion that any reasonable or sensible District Officer, with any sort of tact or skill in the management of men, will really occupy a much stronger position as the head of a body of comparatively independent men than he now occupied as the despotic head of a body of what I may now call, without disrespect, 'dummies'."

The Bill before us seeks to restore the state of things which was thus rightly condemned, and proposes to take away from the Boards the privilege of electing their chairmen, which was conferred upon them after so much deliberation. This is a move backward, and in the wrong direction, and I hope it will not meet with the approval of the Council. It has often been said that District officers are over burdened with work. The proposal under discussion is surely not calculated to lighten their burden. The remedy lies in a different direction. In the discussions that took place in the Viceroy's Council in 1883, Sir (then Mr.) H. Plowden pointed it out in the following weighty words:—

"One of the matters which has been most forcibly brought home to me in the course of these years has been our singular failure to use the material we have ready to our hand amongst our native fellow-subjects for the better administration of the country. As our system of administration becomes more highly deve-

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loped, and we know this has been done to a very marked extent in the last twenty years, we hear on all sides the complaint that our officers are over-burdened with work. There is, I believe, a great amount of truth, in this complaint, but the remedy for it is at our doors. We must give to the people themselves a share in their own administration."

The Bill forbids this by laying down that the District Magistrate shall be the ex-officio Chairman. It makes it impossible that any non-official Indian, however great his talents and capacity be, should ever be elected a Chairman of the District Board of his District. Even men like our Hon'ble Colleagues, the Hon'ble Munshi Madho Lal, Rai Nihal Chand Bahadur, the Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad, Rai Sri Ram Bahadur will in future have no chance of serving their districts as Chairmen of the District Boards. As a justification for this important change, it has been said that the option that was given to the people to elect a Chairman other than the District officer has never been exercised during the last twenty years. The people are not wholly to blame for it. Besides, it does not follow that because a privilege has been exercised in a particular way for twenty years, that therefore it will never be better appreciated or differently exercised. Hon'ble Members of this Council do not require to be reminded that for a long time the

right of returning to be members to Parliament was not appreciated; and that writs had to be issued to enforce the attendance of members who were elected. But no one proposed therefore, that the right should be taken away from the people. The same wrong principle upon which the proposal to make the Magistrate an ex-officio Chairman is based, is responsible for the still more objectionable proposal to make the Tahsildar the ex-officio Chairman of the local Sub-committees which it is proposed to constitute into tahsils. This means that the administration of the District Boards and their sub-committees will be entirely officialized. The tendency to do so is also clearly visible in clause 56 in the provision that the local Government shall lay down rules "as to the sanction requisite for the employment by the Board of its officers and servants and for the pay to be assigned to them." The old Act required that before making any rules under the Act, the local Government should publish a draft of them, and receive and consider any objections or suggestions from any person interested in them. The present Bill dispenses with the last condition. I submit, Sir, that if the District Boards are to be deprived of the power of electing their Chairmen, if they and the local sub-committees must always be presided over by the District Magistrate and the Tahsildar respectively, and if the Local Government is to lay down rules to control their action even in the matter

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of appointing their servants and fixing the salary to be given to them, this Bill will make a great encroachment on the small measure of local self-government which was introduced twenty two years ago, with a view to extend local self-government as an instrument of political and popular education. If the Bill is passed as it is, the District Boards and their sub-committees will become merely advisory bodies, and there will be little of self-government left to the people. I hope these provisions of the Bill will be very carefully considered by the Select Committee to which it will be referred, and that the privileges which the people enjoyed under the old Act will be left intact.

So much for the changes proposed in the constitution of the Boards. I wish to say a few words now about their powers and duties.

These have been laid down with great clearness in clause 42 of the Bill. That clause enumerates the purposes to which the funds at the disposal of the Boards shall be applied. The duties of the Boards have been increased, and they include the construction and maintenance of light railways; the construction, repair and maintenance of famine preventive works, the establishment and maintenance of relief works and relief houses and the adoption of such measures of relief in time of famine or scarcity as may be considered necessary. If the funds at the disposal of the Boards

were sufficiently increased to enable them to discharge the many duties imposed upon them, I would welcome the enlargement of the sphere of their usefulness. But we know that the funds at their disposal are insufficient to enable them adequately to discharge even those obligations for which they are primarily responsible of providing elementary education and sanitary and medical relief. The result of these I fear will be that in future these obligations will be discharged in even less satisfactory a manner than they have been in the past. But if the well-being of the people is to be secured, it is necessary that these obligations should be discharged far more efficiently and adequately than heretofore. I will refer to only one of them, the promotion of primary education. How inadequately the District Boards and the Government have hitherto discharged their duties in this direction is shown by the fact that while in the year 1903-04 the proportion of scholars to the population of the school-going age was in Bengal 30 per cent for boys, and 2·2 per cent for girls, and 19 lakhs of pupils were at school, and while in Madras the percentage was 27·8 for boys and 4·8 for girls and nearly 9 lakhs of pupils were at school; in the same year in the United Provinces the percentage was 12 for boys and 7·5 for girls, and less than four lakhs of pupils were at school. The percentage of scholars to the total population of the school-going

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age, boys and girls included was, as remarked by the reviewer of the Government of India for the first time more than 7, and we had by no means enviable distinction of being bracketed together with the new North West Frontier Province, which had 7·9 percent of the school-going population at school. This is truly lamentable. These provinces were the pioneers in the matter of primary education. They were the first to contribute specifically towards education by means of an education cess. They were the most cultured of Indian provinces both under Hindu and Mahomedan rule, and yet they have now to bear the reproach of being the most ignorant provinces in the Indian empire. To ensure more satisfactory progress in the future, it is desirable, now that the powers and duties of the District Boards are being clearly defined to lay down that it will be the duty of the Boards to provide elementary education for all the male children of the district, and with this object I would suggest that clause 42, sub-clause (1), sub-head (d), should be modified so as to read as follows :—

The establishment, management and maintenance of a sufficient number of schools to provide elementary education for all the male children resident in such district for whose education sufficient and suitable provision is not otherwise made ; either wholly or by means of grants-in-aid ; the construction and repair of

houses and appurtenant buildings necessary for such schools, &c. It is hardly necessary for me to dwell here on the advantages of education. The provision of elementary education for the people is now regarded as one of the primary duties of every civilised Government. England passed its Education Act by which education was made compulsory in 1870. Japan introduced a similar Act, in 1871. In both those countries municipal and rural communities are under obligation to establish and maintain schools sufficient in number and equipment to admit all children of school-going age residing within their jurisdictions. The result is that nearly 96 per cent of the children of the school-going age are at school in England and over 90 per cent in Japan. It is high time that we followed their noble example and secured the blessings of education to the people.

I well know that the carrying out of the policy I have been advocating will require a large expenditure of money. It is for this reason that in discussing the connected Bill this morning I urged that the Government should be pleased to give back to the district fund the 5 per cent of the rent as it used to do before. It is for this reason also that I urged at the time of the discussion of the annual budget, both this year and the last, that the Government of India should be requested to leave a larger portion of the revenue of

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the Provinces for expenditure within the Provinces over objects which directly benefit the people. The needs of the people are pressing, and their contributions are sufficiently large to justify the appeal, and I hope that if the matter will be pressed with sufficient earnestness on the Government of India, our prayer will be granted. The Bill before us clearly reminds us of the necessity of doing so, and I hope the Government will be pleased to take the matter into consideration. With these remarks I beg to support the motion before the Council.

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The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made the following speech at a meeting of the Allahabad Legislative Council held in 13th March 1906 under the Presidentship of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James John Digges Latouche, K.C.S.I.

YOUR Honour, I strongly support the amendment which has been proposed by Hon'ble Rai Nihal Chand Bahadur. The Select Committee deserve to be congratulated on having rejected the highly objectionable proposal to make the District Magistrate and the Tahsildar ex-officio Chairman of the District Boards and the tahsil Sub-committees, respectively, and on restoring into the bill the provision of the old Act which left it to the Board to elect whomsoever it liked as its chairman. But I cannot congratulate the Committee on the change they have proposed to introduce in the constitution of the Boards so far as the proportion of nominated to elected members is concerned. Under the old Act the number of members whom the Government might nominate could not exceed one-fourth of the whole number of the Board. The Select Committee have proposed that the number of the nominated mem-

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bers should be one-third of the Board. It seems to me that the Committee have exceeded their power in introducing such a radical change in the Bill.

The Council is probably aware that the Bill now before it was under the consideration of the Government for nearly two years before it was introduced here.

As it was introduced it embodied the result of the deliberation of responsible officers of Government extending over a longer period. These officers did not suggest any change in the proportion of the elected and nominated members of the Board. After it was introduced here the Bill was circulated for opinion among the district and divisional officers of Government, many of whom have had a long practical experience of the working of the old Act. Not one of the officers has suggested that any change of the kind under discussion should be made. The one solitary gentleman who has suggested the change is Mr. Ram Saran Das, Rai Bahadur, of Fyzabad, who protects his love for the system of Local Self-Government, but strangely enough says at the same time that if his suggestion is not carried out, *i.e.*, if the proportion of members elected by the voice of the people is not reduced, the fate of Self-Government would be sealed. He says, 'past experience has shown that many persons possessing the necessary qualifications of a member generally keep themselves aloof from the turmoils of a District Board election for various

obvious reasons, and their services are thus lost to the District Board.' I shall show that Mr. Ram Saran Das is wrong both in his statement of fact and in his idea as to the ground on which nominations are and should be made by Government. I do not think that when he put forward this singular suggestion he had the history of the enactment which he wishes us to amend, and of the rules made thereunder, fully before his mind, nor am I sure that that history was before the minds of the Hon'ble Members of the Select Committee when they yielded their consent to the suggestion. I venture to think that if that history had been taken into consideration, it would in all probability, have led to a conclusion different from that which was arrived at by the committee, and it seems to me that I cannot do better in supporting this motion than briefly remind the council of a few important facts connected with the passing of the old Act and of the system which was introduced by it.

After the famous resolution on Local Self-Government was passed in 1883, the Local Government was called upon to submit proposals to give effect to the principle of the resolution. Sir Alfred Lyall was then at the head of the Government here. A Provincial Committee was appointed to formulate proposals. District and Divisional Officers and a number of other persons who were regarded as competent to express an

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opinion on the subject were consulted. Their opinions were considered and weighed by the Provincial Committee, and the conclusions arrived at by the Committee were submitted to the Local Government. Having taken the report of the Committee into consideration, Sir Alfred Lyall's Government came to the conclusion that in inaugurating the Policy of Local Self-Government in the districts, a system of careful and consultative nomination by Government of the electoral body is preferable to election by untried and unfamiliar methods. He, therefore, decided to quote the words of Mr. Quinton, to adopt in principle the recommendation formulated in the ninth paragraph of the Provincial Committee's report, viz., that the Government should nominate for each tahsil an electoral body which should elect a certain number of its members to form a tahsil or sub-divisional board. A list of electors was to be prepared by the District Officers and approved by the Government, and then the electors were permitted to exercise the privilege of electing, from among their own body, the members of the sub-divisional board. The proposals of Sir Alfred Lyall's Government which, as I have shown above and as the Hon'ble Mr. Quinton took care to point out in introducing the Bill in the Viceroy's Council, were the result of careful deliberation and of consultation with all persons likely to be able to give an opinion of value on the subject, were accepted by

the Government of India and were embodied in Act XIV of 1883. Section 5, clause (3), of that Act provided that the persons entitled to vote at the election shall be nominated by the Local Government or determined in such other manner as may be prescribed. The same section provided that "besides the elected members the local board would consist of so many nominated members as the Local Government may from time to time fix in this behalf, but that the nominated members shall not exceed in number one-fourth of the board."

The rules that have been made under section 47 of the Act, and which have been in force these many years, lay down that the persons entitled to vote at the election of members of a local board shall be all Honorary Magistrates having jurisdiction within the sub-district, and subject to the restriction that they shall not exceed 100 in number such other persons not being less than 21 years of age and residing or owning landed property or carrying on trade or business in the sub-district as the Magistrate of the District having regard to their wealth or to their interest or influence in the sub-districts may consider fit persons to act as electors.

It will thus be seen that the system of election which was introduced was very much tampered by nomination and hedged in with limitations and safeguards. Notwithstanding that, however the people of this country were deeply thankful that the principle

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was introduced, but they were anxious from the first that the privilege should be real. Speaking in the Viceroy's Council when the Bill for Local Self-Government in the Central Provinces was under discussion, the late lamented Sir Syed Ahmad Khan said :—

‘How far the Government should control the constitution of Local Boards and District Councils is a matter of principle by no means peculiar to the Central Provinces. It is, indeed, a matter which goes to the very root of the entire scheme of Local Self-Government for which the country is indebted to your Lordship's administration. To that noble scheme I am proud to give my hearty, though humble support, for I rejoice to feel that I have lived long enough to see the inauguration of the day when India is to learn, at the hands of her Rulers, those principles of self-help and Self-Government which have given birth to representative institutions in England and have made her great among the nations of the World. My Lord, I sincerely believe that all the intelligent classes throughout India sympathise with the feelings which I have expressed, that they feel grateful to the Government for the privileges which the scheme of Local Self-Government will confer upon them and that the effect of those privileges will be to enhance the popularity of the British rule, and to inspire feelings of loyalty and devotion among the vast population of

British India. The more real those privileges are, the more beneficial will be the results. Having such views and feelings as these it is natural for me to wish, as a matter of principle, that the Local Boards and the District Councils should consist as far as possible of persons whom the voice of the people has elected as their representatives.'

But Sir Syed Ahmad Khan recognised that in the first experimental stage of the scheme of Local Self-Government the Government should have the power of nominating certain number of members of the Board.

He said: 'But my Lord, I feel that I am not acting inconsistently with my feelings and views in cordially supporting those provisions of this Bill which reserve to Government the power of appointing one-third of the members of the Local Boards and District Councils. I am convinced that no part of India has yet arrived at the stage when the system of representation can be adopted in its fullest scope even in regard to local affairs. The principle of Self-Government by means of representative institutions is perhaps the greatest and noblest lesson which the beneficence of England will teach India.

Sir Syed Ahmad pointed out the true reason why the Government should have the power to nominate a certain number of the members.

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‘In one and the same district,’ said he, ‘the population may consist of various creeds and various nationalities and whilst one section of the population commands wealth and commerce, the other may possess learning and influence. One section may be numerically larger than the other, and the standard of enlightenment which one section of the community has reached may be far higher than that attained by the rest of the population. One community may be fully alive to the importance of securing representation on the Local Boards and District Councils, whilst the other may be wholly indifferent to such matters’

Government, in reserving to itself the power of appointing one-third of the members of the Local Boards and District Councils, is adopting the only measure which can be adopted to guarantee the success of Local Self-Government by securing and maintaining that due and just balance in the representation of the various sections of the Indian population which the system of election, pure and simple, would fail to achieve.

The proportion of one-third was fixed for the Central Provinces because by reason of their backwardness they required special treatment. As I have already pointed out, the same legislature enacted in the case of these Provinces that the number of nominated members must not exceed one-fourth of the whole

board. No one has suggested, not even Mr. Ram Saran Das, Rai Bahadur, that under the existing rules which provide for the nomination of one-fourth of the members of the board by Government, and of the appointment of three-fourths by election, do not secure a due and just balance in the representation of the various sections of the Indian community. Mr. Ram Saran Das opines that experience has shown that many persons possessing the necessary qualifications of a member generally keep themselves aloof from the turmoils of a District Board election for various obvious reasons. I am afraid facts do not support this view. There is probably no district in these Provinces where elections are more keenly contested than in Fyzabad and I am in a position to say that Fyzabad District Board has had a number of the most respected residents of the district within its body. Besides, as I have shown above, the power of nomination was reserved by Government to secure due representation of different sections of the community and not to foster a false notion that entering a District Board by nomination by the Government was more honourable than entering it by the suffrages of the people, nor to let in those who wish to enter the Board and yet from an exaggerated idea of their own superiority wish to keep aloof from the people whose affairs they wish to administer. If these gentlemen cannot meet their humble fellowmen as their brethren

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ren in the daily course of life, it is well both for them and for the people that once at least in three years, when the big man wishes to have the honour of a membership of the District Boards, he should have to approach his lowly townsmen and ask them whether in their judgment he is likely to serve them faithfully and well as a member of the Board.

*After the Bill was passed, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said:—*I join with my other colleagues in congratulating the council on the passing of the Bill. I recognise that it is a measure calculated to have far reaching effects on the welfare of the people. As a measure, it is an improvement on the old Act, and has clearly defined the duties of the board and invested them with greater powers and responsibilities than they possessed under the old Act. But I cannot help saying again, Sir, as I have said on another occasion, that the good that will result to the people from this measure will depend directly upon the resources which will be placed by Government in the hands of the Board. With their present limited resources they will be able but poorly to discharge the many duties which have been imposed upon them. I fully realize that your Honour's Government cannot by itself add much to their resources; I, therefore, repeat the prayers that your Government will be pleased once more to ask the Government of India to allow this Government to

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appropriate a sufficient sum from the revenues of these Provinces for the purposes of urgent provincial expenditure so that this Government may be enabled to place the District Boards financially in a position to discharge adequately the obligations which have been imposed on them by the enactment passed to-day.

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The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made the following speech at a meeting of the Allahabad Legislative Council held in April 1904 under the Presidentship of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James John Digges Latouche, K. C. S. I.

YOUR Honour,—I am sure every member of the Council will join me in thanking the Honourable the Financial Secretary for the very lucid statement which he has made before the Council. That statement enables us to clearly understand the nature and effect of the new Provincial settlement which the Government of India has been pleased to make with, or rather for, this Government. The first important thing to be noted about it is that instead of the Provincial contracts being made for periods of five years only, as was the case in the past, the financial arrangements now made are not limited in duration. This by itself seems to be an advantage; but in order to judge how far it will really benefit us, we have to consider whether the arrangements come to secure to us a fair portion of the revenues of these provinces for Provincial expenditure. Having carefully studied the subject, I regret to be driven to the conclusion that they do not. The net results of the new arrangements, I take it, is that these provinces

will be permitted to retain for expenditure in these provinces Rs. 3,69,69,000 out of the whole of the Provincial revenues, Rs. 12,49,92,900. In Provincial expenditure, the Government of India have reduced the share of expenditure debitable to the United Provinces by Rs. 28,20,000. This means, as the Honourable the Financial Secretary has explained, that we are now in the enjoyment of an income which, if calculated on the former basis, is eleven lakhs larger than that available for expenditure under the last settlement. But a considerable portion of this increase may be attributed, as he has pointed out, to the growth of normal revenue and the income available for expenditure remains Rs. 3,69,69,000 only. In addition to this the Government of India have been pleased to make a lump grant of 30 lakhs to this Government to start the new settlement. This grant I understand, is subject to the condition that it is to be spread over five years, and it is for this reason that only six lakhs will be available out of it for expenditure in the coming year. So far as this lump grant is concerned, I understand that it has been made in order to compensate the Local Government for the disadvantage it would suffer for five years under the new settlement by reason of the curtailment of its expending revenues. This is, therefore, not such a matter for congratulation as it might at first sight appear.

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Turning to the share of revenues permanently allotted to us, I must say that all those who are interested in the advancement of the people of these provinces must regret that the Government of India have not even in a season of great financial prosperity done justice to the claims of these provinces, have not recognised their right to be permitted to spend a larger share of the revenues raised from the people of these provinces than they have done. The settlement appears to be entirely arbitrary and unjust. The inequality of the assignments made to the different provinces which characterized the previous contracts has not been remedied. It is difficult to understand what rule or principle has guided the distribution. The original grants made in 1871 were based on the then existing actual expenditure in each province. The provinces of Bengal and Bombay, which had made comparatively greater progress and were spending much more in various useful directions than the other provinces, received much larger grants than these latter; and as each succeeding contract was based on the ascertained average expenditure of each province during the period of the preceding contract, the inequality has been maintained to this day. Eight years ago, in speaking at a meeting of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta, I pointed out that while the people of these

provinces contributed the largest amount of revenue, larger than that of rich Bengal and larger still than that of Bombay, the percentage of our revenues allotted to us to provide for the administration of these vast provinces and for internal reform was much smaller than that allowed to any other province in India. Two years later the Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur repeated and emphasized the complaint in the Supreme Legislative Council. Last year the Hon'ble Rai Nihal Chand Bahadur published an excellent pamphlet under the heading of 'The shearing of the Provincial sheep,' in which he reproduced the utterances of every official and non-official Member of this Council and of the Supreme Legislative Council on this question, and showed that there has been one continual cry during the last many years for a fairer allotment of revenues for provincial purposes. Comparing the figures for different provinces, he showed that while 53 per cent. of the revenues raised in Bengal was left to be spent in that province and 64 per cent. of the revenues in Bombay, only 43 per cent. of the revenues was left to these provinces for provincial expenses. And my Hon'ble friend pleaded that a sum of six crores should in fairness be allowed to these provinces. That may have been regarded an extravagant hope, though it was based on reason. But certainly the Government of India could, if they wanted to deal with these

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provinces fairly, even though not as liberally as they deal with Bombay and Bengal, have increased our allotment to at least 450 lakhs.

I am most unwilling, Sir, to take up much more of the time of the Council on this question. But I feel that the entire possibility of advancement and progress in these provinces depends upon the amount of our revenues which the Government of India allow us to spend, and it seems to me, therefore, that this question is of paramount importance and deserves the most serious consideration of the Council. It might seem idle to hope that the Government of India will allow us to reopen the question so soon after they have come to a decision after having the matter under consideration for sometime. But I believe, Sir, that if the fact is brought home to the Government of India that the practical result of their refusal to grant to us a larger share of the revenues of these provinces means the perpetuation of the ignorance and the poverty of the vast millions of these provinces who toil to fill the coffers of the State, that Government will yet reconsider the matter and make it possible for your Honour's Government to do its duty by the people entrusted to your care. It is perfectly clear that as the Government of India which has the right to determine what portion of the revenues of these provinces spent shall be for Provincial purposes, the responsibility

for the welfare and progress of the people rests upon it. The Provincial Government is, under the circumstances, merely the executive of the Government of India. It will, no doubt do the utmost it can within the means left at its disposal. But when those means are so limited and when not much margin is left for future improvement, it cannot possibly effect much progress.

In whatever way we may look at the question and that the arrangement is not as satisfactory as it should be. In four of the six shared heads—Excise, Assessed taxes, Forests and Registration—the Provincial share alike of the revenue and expenditure will be a quarter only. In Stamps, revenue and expenditure will be divided equally between Imperial and Provincial, while in Land Revenue the Provincial Government will get one quarter of the receipts and bear one-half of the charges. I confess, Sir, I fail to understand on what principle this arrangement is based. Considering that all that vitally touches the well-being of the people, sanitation, education, efficiency and integrity of administration, police arrangements, industrial development and all that is likely to increase the earning capacity and prosperity of the people is left solely to be provided for by the Provincial Government, one would think that at least half, if not three-fourths of the revenue raised from every one of the heads enumerated above, would be left to be spent

in these provinces, and that half the total revenues of the provinces would be regarded as a sufficient contribution to the expenses of the army, the Government of India, the Council of the Secretary of State and other Imperial purposes. But the Government of India have decreed otherwise. I have not forgotten the change that has been made under the head 'Irrigation.' The receipts from major irrigation works will henceforward go entirely to make up Provincial revenues. But this is only going back to what used to be the case before 1898, when irrigation was entirely a Provincial head. And against the increase under this head, which is much more liable to fluctuation than the receipts from other sources, has to be placed the diminished share which the Provinces will receive under the other heads. The minimum guarantee of 40 lakhs which the Government of India has made, lends support to the view that irrigation is not so reliable a source of revenue as other heads are. And, on the whole, it seems to me that the redistribution of the various heads of revenue between the Government of India and this Government will not prove advantageous to this Government. The chances of the provincial revenues have to my mind been narrowly circumscribed by the arrangements which have been arrived at.

Even in the matter of making a lump grant, the Government of India have not been as liberal to us as

they might have been. One would have thought that, having regard to the fact that the permanent allotment of revenues for provincial purposes was here so obviously smaller in proportion to that allotted to Bengal, Bombay and Madras, the Government would give to these provinces at least as much as, if not more than, they have given to those provinces. But while 50 lakhs have been allotted to each of those provinces, only 30 lakhs have been given to us. Why this has been so, it is difficult to understand. One is forcibly reminded of the saying 'To him who hath, more shall be given.' I am aware that some portion of the lump grants have been made to the other provinces for special objects. But these provinces are wanting in many of those institutions which the sister provinces possess, and a grant larger than what has been made to them could have been most beneficially utilized in these provinces. I hope, Sir, that Your Honour's Government will yet press the needs of these provinces upon the attention of the Government of India, and I hope that those needs will yet be recognised and that sufficient provision will be made for meeting them.

How numerous and how pressing those needs are, it is hardly necessary to say. The department of education alone calls for an expenditure of at least 30 or 40 lakhs a year more, in order that these provinces

might be brought abreast of other provinces in education. And not only have non-official members of this Council been praying for larger grants for education, but the Director of Public Instruction has been doing the same. Two years ago Mr. Lewis enumerated the most urgent needs of education in these provinces, and stated that the carrying out of those reforms on a moderate scale would require an additional 20 lakhs a year. He pointed out at the same time that even when that addition has been made it would only raise the total expenditure from public funds to 1½d a year per head of the population, and that this scale of expenditure was already exceeded in most, if not all, of the other provinces. But it seems that he has been crying in the wilderness and his last report is full of despair. I cannot do better than reproduce his remarks here in his own words: 'The reforms that have been initiated, have been rendered possible only by the special and permanent annual grant of five lakhs assigned to the United Provinces by the Government of India for education. While the gift has been welcome, some disappointment has been felt at the smallness of the amount in comparison with that given to the other provinces; and much regret that the opportunity was not taken to bring the most backward province more nearly abreast of the more fortunate parts of the country in which a greater liberality

towards education has been customary. As a matter of fact the United Provinces show worse in comparison with the rest of India than they did before the special grants were distributed among the provinces. Already at the bottom of the list, with regard to public expenditure on education per unit of population to population than any other province. Hence other provinces have by the favour of the Government of India been allowed to increase their lead. It is, therefore, the misfortune rather than the fault of these provinces that they are last of all in educational progress, and there, it seems they are destined to remain. There is little doubt that if money were spent as freely here as elsewhere in education and largely devoted to the extension of primary education there would be a large increase in the enrolment of scholars. There is a demand in perhaps all districts for more schools and more schools, but they cannot be opened because the funds are exhausted. When a people cry out for education and cannot get it, we may well, with Carlyle, count it a tragedy'. This earnest appeal of the Director of Public Instruction was prominently brought to the notice of his Excellency the Viceroy and his Council by the Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bhahadur at a time when the exchequer of the Government of India was overflowing with money towards which the toiling millions of these provinces had contributed in

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no small measure. But it is to be deplored that it was not heeded.

It is sad, Sir, to contemplate the position of these provinces in the matter of education, particularly in that of primary education. As the Education Commission remarked, these provinces were the pioneers of the policy of extending primary education amongst the masses and of providing adequate funds for it by means of local rates. Before any other provincial administration had awakened to a consciousness of its duty in this direction, the late Mr. Thomson of pious memory, devised a most excellent scheme of elementary vernacular instruction of the people. That scheme met with the approval of the Government of India and of the Court of Directors, and in the famous Educational Despatch of 1854 and of 1859, in which the general adoption of measures for the extension of elementary education was for the first time inculcated, we were held up as a model to other Governments. But while education has been steadily advancing in every other province, it has remained backward here, with the result that there are only ten boys out of a hundred of the school-going age who receive any education in these provinces, whereas 22 to 23 per cent of the boys of the school-going age are at school in Bombay and Bengal and these provinces which were the home of learning, and refinement, both under the

Hindu and Muhammadan *regimes*, have now to bear the reproach of being the 'most ignorant provinces in the Indian Empire.' It is all the more to be regretted that this should be so when we remember that the Government of India have for the last fifty years repeatedly acknowledged the importance of primary education and expressed their desire to promote it. In the despatch of 1854, in the resolution appointing the Education Commission of 1882, in the resolution on the recommendations of that commission, the Government of India have again and again declared that they regard the extension of primary education to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should be directed and which should be regarded to possess almost an exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education and a large claim on provincial revenues. And in subsequently reviewing the progress of education in the various provinces, they have again and again expressed a hope that the efforts of the Local Governments will be steadily increased and sustained in the direction of promoting primary education. In spite of these resolutions the Government of India have been constrained to admit in the recent resolution on education, which does no more than reaffirm, the previous declarations of Government on primary education, that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and 'an inadequate share of

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the public funds. They have again repeated the opinion that they consider that it should be made a leading charge upon provincial revenues, and that in those provinces where it is in a backward condition its encouragement should be a primary obligation. The resolution goes on, however, to say that the Government of India believe that Local Governments are cordially in agreement with them in desiring this extension and will carry it out to the limits allowed by the financial conditions of each province. And these last words, read in the light of the terms of the provincial settlement, define the limits of the possibility of the extension of primary education in these provinces. When we consider what little margin has been left for increased expenditure to this Government under the terms of the new settlement, it seems to me that there is little hope left for any substantial progress in education.

I find, Sir, that in the resolution to which I have referred, the Government of India have been pleased to say that the expansion of primary education is impeded by the indifference of the more advanced and ambitious classes to its spread. I consider it my duty to say that the remark is not true, so far as these provinces are concerned, if it is true of any other province of India. It is not the indifference of the advanced ambitious classes but the lukewarmness and

parsimony of the Government of India that accounts for the want of satisfactory progress in primary education. As Your Honour's Government was pleased to observe in reviewing the history of education in these provinces: 'want of money is the beginning and the end of a narrative of education in these provinces in modern times' and none but the Government of India is responsible for this chronic want and the consequent absence of healthy growth in education.

Are we then to give ourselves up to despair? To give up the hope of extending primary education, would be to abandon all hope for the advancement of the people, for it is universally recognized now that education lies at the foot of all other progress. Even in the important resolution of the Government of India of March 1897 on agricultural education, the extension of primary education among the agricultural population was strongly inculcated as being essential to all agricultural improvement and reform. But I cannot better express the paramount necessity of promoting the education of the masses than in the words of Mountstuart Elphinstone, uttered in 1823, which are as true now as ever:—

“It is difficult to imagine an undertaking in which our duty, our interest, and our honour are more immediately concerned. It is now well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great

measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring : and if ever there was a country where such habits are required, it is this. We have all often heard of the ills of early marriages and overflowing population ; of the savings of a life squandered on some one occasion of festivity ; of the helplessness of the ryots, which renders them a prey to money-lenders ; of their indifference to good clothes or houses, which has been urged on some occasions as an argument against lowering the public demands on them ; and finally of the vanity of all laws to protect them, when no individual can be found who has spirit enough to take advantage of those enacted in their favour ; there is but one remedy for all this, which is education.'

The need for education being so supreme, it is necessary that more effective steps should be taken to secure it to the people ; and it seems to me, Sir, that the best way to do it would be to have sufficient funds set apart for education by legislation. Twenty years ago the Provincial Committee of the Education Commission recommended that education should be made compulsory in these provinces. On the general question of the need for legislation the Commission pointed out what indeed is also borne out by the recent, resolution of the Government of India on education

that executive orders of clear important and general application have failed more or less in all provinces to ensure uniform attention to broad principles prescribed for general guidance and they rightly observed that 'in all countries where education has been most successful, that is, most national it has been based on law or ordinance. Even in England, where there is so much jealousy of any central action that can be avoided, it was never advanced in the prolonged discussions which resulted in the Acts passed between 1870 and 1880, that if a national and adequate system of primary education was at last to be established, it could be established otherwise than by legislation.' The history of education during the twenty years that have elapsed since that was written fully establishes the soundness of the opinion which was expressed by the Commission, and shows that the time has come when legislative provision should take the place of executive orders and resolutions if the progress of education is to be assured. I think, Sir, legislation is necessary not because the people are unwilling to take to education, for we have it on the testimony of the learned Director of Public Instruction that the people are everywhere crying for more and more schools, but because I think statutory provision is needed to secure adequate funds for education. In my humble opinion one per cent of the school cess which

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the landholders of these provinces have been paying since 1866 should be made the nucleus of the school fund, and such a percentage of the provincial revenues as may be needed to meet the educational wants of the provinces should be set apart as the contribution of the Provincial and Imperial Governments to that fund. District and Municipal Boards should also be required to contribute a fair and fixed portion of their income towards the education fund. It may be said that all these sources are actually contributing at present towards education. This is true. But I believe that when the duty of providing education for the whole of the school-going population is recognized, the claim of education will be better realized and more adequate and more certain provision made for meeting them than is the case at present. I venture, to hope, Sir, that when the need for making such provision is brought home to the Government of India, that Government may not be unwilling to extend that financial support to us without which no scheme for the advancement of education can have a chance of success. I hope, Sir, that such a scheme might be taken into consideration during your Honour's administration.

As regards higher education, it is a matter for regret that the expenditure incurred on it in these provinces also compares unfavourably with that incurred in other provinces. This is fully brought out

in the recent reports on public instruction, which reports also show the need for increased expenditure on higher education in these provinces. I do not, however, think it necessary to go into details here. The Universities Bill has now been passed into law, and I am thankful to note that the Government of India have been pleased to promise to meet by special assignments, part of the additional expenditure which may be rendered necessary by reforms which are in contemplation in the administration of police and education. I hope, Sir, that those grants will be made on sufficiently liberal scale to permit of the establishment of a real teaching University in these Provinces. All lovers of high education are looking eagerly forward to the arrangements which will be made under the Universities Act in that direction. I hope that all the funds which will be available will be spent in creating one centre of culture and in endowing a sufficient number of chairs there, so as to gather together at that centre a society of scholars devoted to learning and able to inspire, instruct and guide the most capable young men of these provinces into the highest pursuits for learning. As has been well said, a University requires more than anything else, a large and vigorous staff so that the various sciences and languages may have their devotees, and young men of different tastes may find fit guides. And there is nothing more calculated to insure the

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success of a University than the presence of a body of living teachers, eminent in their special subjects and loving to teach. The influence of such a body of men will be most beneficial in its effects upon the young men who will have the privilege of being brought into contact with them. And the University will in course of time become what Universities in other countries are—a seat for the advancement of the highest learning ; for the discovery and development of talent ; for the promotion of scientific knowledge and research ; and the elevation of professional standards. I also hope, Sir, that the new scheme will not be allowed to suffer from any narrow jealousy of other institutions. I regret to have to say so, but the history of the Muir Central College compels me to do so. Your Honour is aware that when the Muir Central College was established, it was intended that it should be the most important centre of education in these provinces. The Education Commission recommended that it should be kept up as a model institution and that it should be the focus of the learning of the whole provinces. They also recommended that there should be at least six Fellowships endowed at that College. But not only no Fellowships have yet been created, but the College have never received that measure of support from Government which it should have received as the principal State College in these provinces. Though

the College enjoys the benefit of having some very distinguished scholars on its staff, the staff taken as a whole has for a long time not been what it should be. And apart from any scheme of a Teaching University I hope that the Government will be pleased to spare some money to strengthen the staff of the College.

As regards the Law department, now that the teaching of law has been practically centralized, it is necessary that the Government should make a suitable grant to enable the College to have well-paid Professorships of Law, so as to attract and retain the services of capable men. The Faculty of Law have recommended that the Government should guarantee to the University an income of Rs. 25,000 a year, to enable the University to take up the teaching of law in its own hands. I hope the matter will receive favourable consideration, and money found for the purpose under the new scheme.

The need for a Medical College for these provinces has long been recognised, and I hope that Your Honour will be able to see such a College established before long. Your honour is aware that when the scheme for establishing the Muir Central College was sent up to the Government of India in 1872, it was contemplated that lectureships in Medicine and Surgery should be attached to the Muir College. The excellent equipment that the Muir College has received during the last few years

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for the teaching of Physical Science and Chemistry, makes it all the more desirable that a Medical College should be established in the vicinity of that institution. The need for such a College has been growing day by day. The new field for study and employment which such a College will afford to the young men of these provinces, though in itself a desirable thing, is to my mind of comparatively less importance than the fact that a large number of young men will be trained and qualified to serve humanity, to prevent suffering and to bring medical aid and relief to thousands of our fellow-beings in these provinces. A knowledge of sanitary rules and ideas will also much more quickly diffuse through them among the body of the people and will lead to sanitary alleviations and advancement. I hope, Sir, that the establishment of such a beneficial institution will not be long delayed.

I notice with gratitude that the Government of India has been pleased to give us three lakhs for expenditure on parks, hospitals, colleges and libraries. I hope that the Government will be pleased to make a grant of at least Rs. 10,000 for the Public Library at Allahabad. I hope also that the Government will be pleased to give a lakh of rupees for the construction of residential quarters for students who are attracted in such large numbers to the Muir Central College. This help is needed to enable the MacDonnell Hindu

Boarding House to be completed. Even after it has been completed there will still be need for more accommodation for students than will be available there.

More immediately pressing than even education is the need of sanitation in these provinces. The thanks of the public are due to the Government of India and to your Honour's Government for the relief which has been given to municipalities generally by their being relieved of half the police charges borne by them and for the greater relief which has been given to those municipalities whose resources are crippled by large water-works or drainage schemes. I have no doubt that this sum will help the Municipalities greatly to improve the sanitation of their areas, and later on to make better provision for education. The public will also feel thankful that a sum of three lakhs has been given to the Lucknow Municipality as a contribution towards its drainage scheme. I wish, Sir, that a similar favour were conferred upon the Allahabad Municipality. Your Honour is aware that during three years Allahabad has had to mourn the loss of over 15,000 of its inhabitants on account of plague. And your Honour is also aware that plague has been most virulent in those parts of the city where sanitation, is most unsatisfactory for want of a good drainage scheme. Since the water-works were introduced, dampness has much increased in Allahabad.

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When these works were started, it was contemplated that there should be a drainage scheme also carried out. A scheme was actually prepared during the time of Mr. Porter, which was to cost between six to seven lakhs of rupees. But as the money could not be raised, the scheme was abandoned. The Government have rightly recognised that help to large but poor municipalities for a scheme of drainage is a legitimate charge upon the public revenues. Indeed, the more the sanitation of places like Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares, Agra and Cawnpore is improved, the less will be the danger of epidemics breaking out at these large centres of population, and the lesser the chance of the province being overrun by such epidemics. I hope your Honour's Government may yet see your way to secure or extend the needed help to the Allahabad Municipality for scheme of drainage similar to what has been given to Lucknow. Not only do these large municipalities stand in need of help, but so also do the smaller municipalities. From Saharanpur in the west to Gorakhpur in the east, there are few municipalities in which there is not need for a large and systematic measures for improvement, and I hope that, in addition to the relief that has been given to them, your Honour will be pleased in the interest of the general sanitation of the provinces, to grant them such further help as may be possible.

SPEECHES OF PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

I come now to the question of plague expenditure. Four lakhs were budgeted for as the cost of plague preventive measure last year ; three lakhs only have been allotted this year. Out of the four lakhs allotted last year it is stated that, in pursuance of the policy of treating sanitation as the main line of defence, two lakhs were transferred to the Civil Works Budget to be placed at the disposal of the poor municipalities and large towns, to enable them to set their houses in order against plague. I venture to submit that in view of the increasing havoc which plague has been making and the larger area that has been attacked by it, the allotment for plague should have been increased instead of being decreased. It was very kind of the Government to help the Lucknow, Cawnpore and Allahabad Municipalities to bear the burden of plague charges by grants aggregating to Rs. 66,000. If the municipalities are to take any effective measures to combat plague and if the sums, which have become available to them by their being relieved of police charges, are to go to improve the sanitation of the areas of those municipalities, it is necessary that the Government should bear the burden of the whole of the plague charges. Our Municipalities are unfortunately poor and can ill afford to meet this calamitous extraordinary expenditure from their limited resources, and I feel that if the Government

does not help them they will not be able to do their duty by the people at this terrible crisis. It is stated in the budget that the Government looks to improved sanitation as a defence against plague. In order that this should be so, what are the municipalities required to do? There is no doubt that filth is recognised as one of the prime factors in the production and propagation of most of the devastating plague known to mankind. Medical authorities also lay down that 'the study of epidemic and endemic diseases generally has brought to light an array of facts which strongly suggest that an intimate association exists between the soil and the appearance and propagation of certain diseases.' To minimise, therefore, the conditions which favour the appearance and propagation of plague in our towns and districts, it is necessary that measures should be adopted to secure that the soil of inhabited areas shall be dry and healthy, and to provide against the pollution of it and through it against the contamination of both water and air. To secure these results, arrangements are needed for removing at the earliest possible opportunity all the excreta and other effete matters; and in order that this may be most effectively done it is necessary that conservancy tram-ways should be laid in every, or at least every large, municipality, and that incinerators should be employed to destroy the sweepings of the town. The second thing needed is a good

system of drainage which should drain off effectually all the refuse water of the town. Where no general scheme of drainage may be feasible, it is at least necessary that the present insanitary drains of many towns should be replaced by pakka drains. All this means large expenditure and can only be carried out if Government will guide and help municipalities liberally.

I should mention here that it is essential that, whatever system of drainage should be devised, care should be taken to see that the sewage of the towns does not discharge into the rivers. This is necessary, both in order that the sewage should be utilized for fertilizing land, and also to prevent the pollution of the rivers which are the sources of the water-supply of all our large towns and of the numerous other towns which are situated along their banks. Since the water-works were introduced the drainage of several towns has been pouring in increasing measure into the rivers and poisoning them. Millions of people drink the water of these streams and bathe in them. And the pollution of the water not only gives offence but is considered to be a source of danger. An eminent doctor, Dr. Frankland, stated it as his opinion before the Royal commission that 'when water is once contaminated with sewage there is no process to which it is afterwards subjected which will effectively remove all

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that sewage contamination from the water ; filtration will not do it in certain cases at all events.' Sir Benjamin Brodie also said that 'the injurious character of water impregnated with sewage matter might not be discovered for years, you might go on using it for years and it might not be discovered, and yet you might have some outbreak of disease in the place which nevertheless might be connected with the use of that sewage water.'

The attention of the Government was drawn to the necessity for preventing the pollution of the rivers by the inhabitants of Allahabad in 1894, and my friend, the Hon'ble Rajah Rampal Singh, drew the attention of the Government to it again by a question which he put in the Council in 1897. The Government was pleased to say that on a suitable representation being made the matter would be taken into consideration. I submit, Sir, that the time has come when this question should receive attention. I hope that your Honour will be pleased to consider the desirability of legislation to prevent the pollution of our beneficent streams on the lines of the River Pollution Acts passed in England and Scotland. The pollution of the river has, during the last three years, been aggravated by the enormous number of corpses of persons who have died of plague being thrown into them. What that number has been I am not in a position to say, but I should not be sur-

prised if a lakh of corpses has been so thrown into the rivers. The Municipal Board of Allahabad have been doing a great deal by the free supply of fuel and in other ways to see that corpses should be burnt. But still I fear that a large number of corpses have been thrown into the river. It is apprehended that this pollution is a distinct danger, and I hope this matter also will receive your Honour's consideration.

And this brings me to the very important question of the policy of Government in regard to plague. I believe over two lakhs of the people of these provinces have been carried away by plague during the last three years. It is heart-rending to read that nearly ten thousand of our fellowmen are falling victims every week to this disease in these Provinces. No comfort can be derived from the fact that altogether forty thousand souls are perishing from the same cause every week throughout the country. Apart from the appalling loss of life, it is distressing to think of the misery and suffering which it leaves behind. Who can describe the grief of aged parents who have lost their only son, of little children who have lost their parents, of the thousands of young women who have been condemned to widowhood and of those who have lost dear friends and relations? Is there no resisting the march of this enemy of mankind? Are not the resources of our Government which made such a splendid organization

and rescued millions from the jaws of death during the late famines, equal to arrest the progress of this enemy or to mitigate the sufferings it inflicts? Cannot the Government and the public combine to check the ravages of the disease? Shall we give no succour to the people in this hour of distress? These are some of the questions which are suggested by the situation we find ourselves in and which call for an answer. I read, Sir, in the financial statement that the policy of regarding sanitation as the main line of defence has been adopted. I hope this does not mean that no other measures are to be adopted by Government either to arrest or to combat the disease. It will take years to so improve the sanitation of towns as to make the recurrence of plague impossible; and of what avail will that sanitation be to people who will fall victims to plague in the meantime? I believe, Sir, that it is impossible to reduce the mortality from plague to between 5 to 10 per cent of its present number if the Government will be pleased to consider what are the best measures to check the spread of the disease and to see that they are carried out. I know, Sir, that you sympathise deeply with the sufferings of the people entrusted to your care, and I believe that you will be pleased to consider any feasible scheme which may be devised to minimise their sufferings and their loss. And I therefore feel encouraged to suggest one for your consideration.

Of the four methods adopted to combat plague, I do not wish to say much of inoculation. A portion of the educated public have much faith in it, and though I wish that every facility should be given to help them to obtain it, I do not expect that the people at large will take to it in any considerable number; and we cannot therefore rely upon it as a measure of general protection. Next to this comes disinfection. Experience in Allahabad has proved that when it is properly and thoroughly carried out it has some efficacy in checking the disease; particularly it is useful in stamping out the disease when it is confined to a few houses or to a limited area. But experience has also shown that it is very difficult to secure that disinfection should be thoroughly carried out, the process is very costly and the effects disappear after a time. Medical aid is helpful generally only when a case of illness is reported at once and the services of a competent doctor secured. It ought not to be impossible to make arrangements to secure such aid when the Government and the people combine to do so. And there is not the least doubt, as the experience of the last three years has shown, that the educated public are everywhere willing to co-operate with the district authorities in combating plague.

But speaking from the experience of the last three years I venture to say that the measure which affords

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the greatest protection, indeed, I may say absolute protection, from plague is evacuation. This measure, which experience has shown to be the most effective means of escaping from plague, is also one that is recommended by Hindu religious authorities. You were pleased, Sir, to visit the health camps which were erected last year and the year before last at Allahabad. And you will be pleased to hear that every soul that took shelter in that camp found itself absolutely safe from plague. The experience gained this year in Allahabad has much more strongly proved that a health camp is the surest and best means of protecting the lives of the people. Owing to some unfortunate causes into which it is not necessary to enter here—the health camp was started at Allahabad this year at a time when the outbreak had assumed serious proportions and was claiming a large number of victims day by day. And people came to the camp from all parts of the city where plague was raging virulently. Yet, except in the case of one or perhaps two families who came in after they had been infected and who were removed to the plague hospital as soon as it was known that they had been attacked by the disease, there was not a single death from plague and indeed, so far as I know from any other cause in the health camp during these three years. There are about a hundred and fifty huts with enclosures for the

zenana in the health camp this year at Allahabad. Now, Sir, these huts no doubt cost a good deal, and the cost of erecting them every year will be large. I therefore propose a scheme which will be a permanent one and therefore cheaper in the end.

Plague never comes without a warning. The dying of rats gives us that warning. It never spreads in all parts of the city or in every house in a mohalla at once. Generally it discloses itself in one house in a mohalla and then travels slowly on to other houses. It has been noted that it works out its ravages in one mohalla before it goes on to another. It has also been proved that the disease is generally imported from one town or city to another, and also from one mohalla to another. The three years of sorrow and suffering have taught the people generally to understand that timely evacuation of an infected house or area is the best means of escape from the disease. Generally speaking, there is plenty of open land within the limits of every municipality. I propose that every municipality should build fifty houses on approved sanitary plans, each apart from the other but forming small mohalias or model villages. On the first intimation of the appearance of plague in a mohalla all the people of the mohalla would be persuaded to remove into one or two of the blocks of houses so built, and to remain there until the houses in the mohalla

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were thoroughly disinfected and the disease stamped out. If the disease broke out in the two or three mohallas, the houses would suffice to accommodate the inhabitants of the infected area. For large cities like Allahabad, Benares, Cawnpore and Lucknow we should have 200 such houses built. In addition to these, private individuals should be encouraged to build houses on approved plans outside the city. In this way a sufficiently large number of houses would be available for shelter from plague. As the facts become known, people will gladly avail themselves of these places of protection. It will be impossible that the disease should spread largely in all parts of a town or city. There will be little necessity left for people to migrate from one town to another, and altogether the chances of the spread of the disease will be minimised. The scheme, Sir, will no doubt be a costly one, but considering the amount of money that the Government and the Municipal Boards will otherwise have to spend in plague measures year after year, I venture to say that it will be economical in the long run. It will also save municipalities against the loss which the large mortality from plague must inflict upon them and the loss which occurs in their income whenever plague comes virulent in their city. The saving of life which it is calculated to effect is, of course, the strongest recommendation of the scheme, and judged from every point of view it

will, I venture to say, be found to be the best insurance against plague. I hope the scheme will receive that consideration from your Honour's Government and Municipal Boards which it deserves

There is one other matter in the financial statement to which I beg briefly to refer. It is stated that the large growth of the Excise revenue is evidence of the continued prosperity of the people. I regret, Sir, I cannot agree with the Hon'ble the Financial Secretary in that view. There are no signs to indicate that the condition of the people is generally improving. Trade has admittedly diminished. Income-tax receipts have fallen. I am afraid the growth in the excise revenue is most likely due to the fact that liquor shops have been multiplied and temptation brought to the doors of the people. I am also afraid that the evil habit of drink is growing upon the people. This is a matter which requires the serious attention of the Government and I hope it will receive it.

There are certain grievances relating to the public services which it is also my duty to bring to your Honour's notice. There is, I understand, a large saving to the Government from the administration of civil justice in these Provinces. I hope the Government will be pleased to consider the desirability of strengthening the staff and improving the pay and

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prospects of the Subordinate Judicial Service. There is a congestion of work in several districts, and the whole arrangement about the distribution of work requires examination. Promotion is also very slow, particularly among Munsiffs, and I fear that unless the pay and prospects of the service are improved and are placed on the same footing as those of the Subordinate Executive Service, the service will cease to attract the kind of men that should be attracted to it.

There has for a long time, been a standing complaint in many department in these Provinces that undue preference is shown to Eurasians and domiciled Europeans in making appointments and promotions to posts for which they are eligible in common with Indians. This complaint finds a remarkable verification in many offices foremost among which are the English departments of the General Branch of the Government Secretariat and the office of the Board of Revenue and Commissioners of divisions. In these offices all posts carrying salaries of Rs. 200 and upwards are held exclusively by Eurasians and domiciled Europeans, mostly the former. These posts should under the standing orders of the Government of India be held exclusively by Indians. These orders, to which I was referred in reply to my question in connection with this subject at the last meeting of this Council require that no person, other than a native of India,

shall be appointed to an office carrying a salary of Rs. 200 a month or upwards without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council in each case, unless the proposed appointment falls under one or other of the following conditions. The appointments excluded from the operation of these orders are those reserved for the members of the Covenanted Civil Service and officers appointed by the Secretary of State and the Governor-General and the higher appointments in the Opium, Salt, Customs, Survey, Mint, Public Works and Police departments. As regards these departments, it is expressly said that "The Governor-General in Council does not wish that the offices in these departments should be in any way reserved for the Europeans and hopes that it may be possible to appoint natives of India more and more freely to higher appointments in these departments. Now it is proved that Eurasians and domiciled Anglo-Indians are classed as statutory natives of India and are not debarred from appointments carrying salaries of Rs. 200 and upwards. But this does not mean, Sir, that they are the only natives of India to be appointed to these posts and that Hindus and Muhammadans are to be excluded. No reasonable man would object to a fair share of these appointments being given to duly qualified Eurasians and domiciled Europeans. But allowing them to monopolize appointments which the

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Government of India found it necessary to reserve for Indians by special orders has unquestionably the appearance of a practical disregard of those orders. There would be no complaints or objections if Eurasians and domiciled Europeans were treated as being on the same footing with other natives of India in the matter of appointments and promotions. Things are not so bad in other provinces as they are here, so far as appointments in English offices are concerned. In the Bengal Secretariat there are 29 appointments with salaries of Rs. 200 and upwards. Of these, 22 are held by Indians and 7 by Europeans or Eurasians. In the Bengal Board of Revenue there are 12 such appointments, of these 9 are held by Indians and 3 by Eurasians or Europeans. In the Madras Secretariat there are 11 such posts, 6 held by Indians and 5 by Eurasians or Europeans. In the Madras Board of Revenue there are 8 such posts all held by Indians. In the Bombay Secretariat there are 17 such posts, 11 held by Indians and 6 by Eurasians or Europeans. In the United Provinces there are 15 such posts in the English department of the General Secretariat all of which are held by Eurasians or Europeans. The same is the case with the 7 such posts in the office of the Board of Revenue and 9 posts in the offices of the Commissioners of divisions.

The exclusion of Indians from these offices cannot be justified on the ground of the absence of qualified men

There is no lack of educated men in these Provinces who could efficiently discharge the duties of these posts. One of the most efficient, if not the most efficient of the larger offices in these Provinces, is the Accountant-General's office. The work of that office is, generally speaking, more intricate and taxing than that of other offices. But most of the superintendents in that office are Indians only 2 being Eurasians. The General Branch in the Government Secretariat is divided into two services superior and inferior, the former rising from Rs. 40 to Rs. 600 and the latter from Rs. 25 to Rs. 100. Hindus and Muhammadans are admitted so rarely to the Superior service that it has come to be regarded as a Eurasian and European service not to be aspired to by Indians. Complaints are often heard that Hindus and Muhammadans of superior educational qualifications rarely find admittance to English offices generally, that the few who do find entrance into such offices do not prosper. However able and efficient they may be, and that in the matter of promotion, Europeans are preferred to Eurasians, and Eurasians to Indians.

These complaints are by no means confined, Sir, to English officers. The inequalities in the treatment of the Indians as compared with Europeans and Eurasians is no less marked in the Education Department. The promotions of European and Eurasian schoolmasters is far quicker than that of Indians of

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equal or better qualifications. Instances may be found of able and efficient Indians of long standing in English offices and in the Education Department working on meagre salaries, while Europeans and Eurasians of much shorter standing and possessed of more superior qualifications are in receipt of two or three times the pay drawn by such Indians. The Court of Wards is another department in which Indians are rarely employed in higher posts, and most of such appointments are bestowed on Europeans. So far as I am aware there are only 4 Hindus and Muhammadans at present employed as Special Managers in these Provinces on salaries ranging between Rs. 200 and Rs. 300, while I believe there are over a dozen European Special Managers drawing salaries ranging between Rs. 300 and Rs. 600. I should think that Europeans are not particularly suited for appointment as special Managers, for they have often to deal with Indian ladies whose habits, customs, and feelings they do not often understand. Mistake made and offences given may not always come to the notice of the Government, but they do occur and give rise to complaints.

It appears from the remarks made on the statistics quoted by the Honourable Rai Sri Ram Bahadur in his Budget speech in the Governor-General's Council regarding the rare appointments of Indians in or their entire exclusion from higher posts in what

are called the minor services, *viz.*, the Police, Public Works, Forests, Opium, Salt and Survey department, that little or nothing has been done in these Provinces to give effect to the hope expressed by the Government of India 'that it may be possible to appoint natives of India more and more freely in these departments.' It is evidenced from the very fact of the Government of India having found it necessary to promulgate orders, such as those to which I have referred and from the wording of those orders, that that Government had noticed a tendency on the part of officers having the power of dispensing public patronage to show undue preference to Europeans. The manner in which Hindus and Muhammadans are being debarr-ed from higher appointments in these provinces shows that even the promulgation of those orders has proved ineffectual. It is to be hoped, Sir, that your Honour's Government will be pleased to take steps to secure that appointments and promotions are made on just and unimpeachable principles, and that there remain no valid grounds for complaints such as those which I have felt it my duty to bring to your Honour's notice.

A system of competitive examinations would perhaps afford the greatest safe-guard against complaints of undue preference being shown to one class over another, and against injustice being done to individuals. But I regret that instead of that system being extended

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it has been abolished even in the matter of the appointment of a few Deputy Collectors. That abolition, I beg leave to say, Sir, has caused much disappointment among a large section of the educated public. I requested at the last meeting of the Council that the Government might be pleased to publish the correspondence which passed between the Government of these provinces and the Government of India at the time that system was introduced and when it was abolished. But the Government declined to do so. And the public are yet in the dark as to the reasons which led to the abolition of that system. In England the system of open competitive examinations was introduced because it was desired "to get rid of patronage with the solicitation and trouble attending it, and, secondly, to secure the ablest men which the situations could command, and I venture to say that if it had been given a longer trial it would have proved to be equally successful here. I am emboldened to say so, because of the personal knowledge I have of the ability and character of many of the young men who have entered the service through open competition. It is too early I know, to expect a change in this direction but I venture to hope that a change will come.

I have pointed out, Sir, only some of the many reforms and improvements which are needed in these provinces. It is clear that most of these

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require money and I fear that the settlement which has been made will not enable this Government to make such contributions towards them as must be made if they are to be carried out. I therefore think, Sir, that it is our clear-duty to approach the Government of India with a fresh representation of our needs and to pray for further grants. There is need in these provinces for large measures of improvement, for liberal expenditure, for the great humanitarian endeavour to uplift the people from their present pitiable condition; to rescue them from ignorance and poverty and its concomitants, misery and crime; to raise them, in short to a higher standard of living and thinking so as to make their condition a matter of satisfaction to all lovers of humanity and a matter of congratulation and pride to the great Civilized Power which has been entrusted, with the task of guiding their destinies. I hope Sir, that under your Honour's large-hearted leadership and guidance the Government and educated public will combine to bring about these much desired results, and I believe that if we all act earnestly our efforts will be blessed with success.

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The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made the following speech at a meeting of the Allahabad Legislative Council held in March 1906 under the Presidentship of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor Sir James John Digges Latouche K. C. S. I.

YOUR HONOUR,—For the abolition of the patwari rate and the local rate fund, the people feel grateful to the Government of India ; as also for the assignments which have been made for University education for agricultural development for police reform and for technical education. Indeed gratitude is felt for every pie of taxation taken off the head of the people, and for every pie added to the Provincial funds, even by way of assignments. But these features of the budget apart, the financial statements which has been laid before the Council, affords most depressing reading. The prevailing note of the Statement is an earnest complaint that the Government of India do not allow the Local Government to appropriate a sufficient portion of the revenues of these Provinces for purposes which bear directly upon the progress of the people, and that the Local Government cannot, under existing financial arrangements do

its duty by the people. The attention of the Government of India has repeatedly been drawn to this fact. In the last General Administration Report of the United Provinces, your Honour's Government urged that the Provinces had a strong claim to further assistance from the Imperial finance. Again, in the debate on the Imperial Budget in the Supreme Legislative Council, the official representative of these Provinces pressed the necessity of a reconsideration of the financial settlement. While acknowledging that the new contract is more favourable to the Provinces than its predecessor was, the Hon'ble Mr. Porter pointed out that the portion of Provincial revenues which these Provinces are permitted to spend, is still insufficient to carry on the administration with reasonable efficiency, and to carry out reforms which are urgently needed. 'The truth is', said Mr. Porter, 'that the Provincial income is insufficient for Provincial needs. This fact will have to be faced sooner or later. In the interest of the Provinces, the sooner it is faced the better.' The Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur pleaded equally earnestly for a fairer and more liberal allotment of funds for these Provinces. But the Government of India failed to recognise the gravity of the situation. And now we find that the Financial Secretary to the Government has been driven to declare, in the statement laid before the Council, in terms as clear and emphatic as could be

used, that "we cannot go on further without an improvement of our income," "that the budget makes provision for only the bare needs of the Province;" and that we have clearly not enough for our needs. And this is the cry of the Provinces which contribute more largely than almost any other Province to the Imperial Government! This is no new complaint either. Year after year the representatives of these Provinces have been urging, both in the Supreme Council and here, a fairer distribution of the Provincial Revenues between the Imperial and the Local Governments. But their complaints have not received much consideration. It is not at all to be wondered at that a Province which has to contribute so much more in the shape of taxes, and which receives so much less out of its contributions for its advancement than other Provinces, should be the most backward of Provinces in the Indian Empire, or that the condition of its people should be so deplorable as it is.

How weak that condition is, is painfully evidenced by the fact, that the people are not able to withstand the effects of the failure of a single crop without assistance from the State, and that they fall such easy victims to plague. Famines and scarcity are unfortunately now of such frequent occurrence that we have to be prepared for their periodical visitations. It is estimated that the expenditure on famine relief of last year would

amount to 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs. There are now eight districts in which the existence of famine has been officially recognised, and 20 lakhs has been provided for relief in the present budget. I listened with painful interest to the statement made by the Hon'ble the Chief Secretary and the Hon'ble Mr. Reynolds regarding the measures which have been adopted by the Government to save the people from starvation. It is a great relief to know that so much is being done to relieve the sufferings of the people, and I feel grateful to the Government for it. But it is distressing to think that the condition of the people should be so weak that vast numbers of them should be driven to throw themselves on the help of State on the failure of a single season of rain.

It is clearly desirable that such improvement should be effected in the circumstances of the people that they should be able to tide over a season of adversity without Government aid. Towards this end there are three matters to which I would beg leave to invite attention. The first is a moderation of assessment. The pressure on land is undoubtedly heavier than it should be. It does not leave the toiling cultivator a sufficient portion of the fruits of his labour. And no efforts to effect a real improvement to his condition will succeed until the assessment on land is reduced. In this connection I might draw attention to the remarks of the Indian Famine Commission of 1901, which was presided over

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by Your Honour's illustrious predecessor, Sir Antony Mac Donnell. At page 106 of their report they say:—

“Our instructions permit us to record any recommendations or opinions which it is thought may be of use in anticipation of future famines. Nothing can be more useful in anticipation of famine than improvements in the material condition of the cultivators, whereby they may be enabled to withstand the pressure of hard times; and nothing more impedes such improvements than an agrarian system under which the cultivators fail to reap the full fruits of their industry and are kept in a state of indebtedness.”

“It seems clear to me that the burden on land must be lightened before we can expect the cultivators to enjoy a healthy and happy existence.

Besides a moderation of assessment more extended irrigation and a great encouragement of industries are the measures which are most urgently needed to ensure the people against the miseries of famine. In his valuable book on “Indian Polity”, Mr. Chesney remarked many years ago: “droughts have occurred in India so frequently that their recurrence before long, in some part or other of the country is reasonable to be expected; and famine, as the certain effect of droughts, can be prevented by irrigation. Here, then, is clearly one of the most important duties that can be placed before the Government of any State. The task is one

that only the Government can undertake, for it is not merely to carry out projects which promise to be remunerative in the ordinary sense of the word ; it is to extend irrigation whithersoever irrigation may be possible throughout the country. Till that is done, and the danger of famine has been guarded against to the fullest possible extent, the English in India may replace anarchy by peace and may distribute equal justice and remove ignorance, but it cannot be said that they have fulfilled their whole duty by the people of the country.” More than three decades have passed since this was written, but the remarks are as true now as they then were. I acknowledge, with gratitude, what has been done during the time that has since elapsed in the way of irrigation, and feel thankful for what is being done in the present. But I submit that a great deal more could have been done and should be done in the near future. Besides canals there is great room for increased irrigation by tanks and wells. It has long been recognised in this country that it is the duty of the King to have tanks constructed in all parts of his territories to afford an easy means of irrigation on the failure of the rains. Thus we find Maharishi Narad inquiring of King Yudhishthira whether he had large and full tanks constructed in suitable places in all parts of his empire, as agriculture did not depend on the rains alone.

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The Indian Famine Commission of 1901 recently drew attention to the urgent necessity for constructing more wells and tanks. At page 103 of their report, they said :—

“ We have carefully considered this question in the light of the grievous misfortunes which have within recent years afflicted Upper India. Our enquiries demonstrate that there is a field for the construction of wells, tanks and other artificial means of irrigation to which it would be difficult to assign a limit.”

It had been forcibly brought home to them as it had been to the Commission of 1880 that the terms on which loans were offered for the said purposes did not attract owners of land to make more than a partial use of the opportunities held out to them. And being convinced that nothing short of a permanent exemption will stimulate the owners of land to that full activity which is on every ground so greatly to be desired, the Commission recommended ‘that in all future settlements any increase of assets due to the construction, otherwise that at the expense of the state, of wells, tanks or other artificial sources of irrigation should be permanently exempted from assessment of revenue.’ I hope these remarks have received the attention they deserve. I note that there is a provision of one lakh in the present budget for tanks in Bundelkhand. But there, is need for much more money to

be spent both on tanks and wells, if sufficient means of artificial irrigation are to be made available to the people.

There is a third remedy which must be adopted if the 'evil effects of famine are to be fully guarded against, and that is a great encouragement of industries. The Famine Commission of 1878 pointed out that the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity lies in the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population. The famines that have since occurred have emphasised this sad fact. But it is to be regretted that not much has yet been done to introduce a diversity of pursuits among the people which might draw away a portion of the population from agriculture, and train them to earn their living by means of manufactures. Until this is done the present economic situation cannot be radically improved, and I hope that the Government will be pleased to take the matter into its early consideration. It goes without saying that the Government can do a great deal more than any private individuals or body of individuals to promote industrial development. That the government ought to do so is coming more and more to be realised. I would draw attention in this connection to a portion of the very instructive and hope-inspiring speech of

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the Member for Commerce and Industry recently delivered in the Viceroy's Council. The hon'ble Mr. Hewett said :—

“The Madras Government have recently taken the lead in establishing what is practically a Government Agency for the fostering and improving of the Indian industries. The success which has been attained in developing the aluminium industry and the chrome leather industry by Mr. Chatterton is a good augury for further developments in the improvement of the industries in the south of India. We hope that the other Local Governments will now make survey of the state of indigenous industries within the areas of their jurisdiction, with a view to ascertaining the exact state of the various industries and handicrafts the amount of the earnings and the present condition of the artisans respectively employed in them, the precise manner in which the different industries have been affected by competition with imported articles the practicability of creating new markets or of developing markets which already exist, and the possibility of giving a new lease of life to these industries either by means of special instructions, or by the improvement of the appliances in use. It is not too much to hope that something tangible may be done to improve their efficiency, and increase their scope by re-organizing them on modern lines.”

In these Provinces among other industries the glass industry is one which might well be fostered by the Government.

It is now universally recognised as a part of the duty of a civilised Government to save the people not only from starvation but also from pestilence. The authors of ancient Hindu polity laid it down many thousand years ago as one of the important duties of a King. *Apastamba* says :—

“That none shall suffer in his territories within his knowledge from starvation disease, exposure to cold or sun, by reason of destitution.” And among the enquiries which Narada addressed to Yudhisthira regarding the discharge of his duties as a King, he asked :—

“Do you protect your empire from the danger from fire, from snakes, from disease and from evil spirits?” It is most unfortunate that these Provinces are exposed at present both to famine and pestilence. The deaths from plague are still appalling ; its ravages are still frightful. Can nothing be done to save the people from it? I notice with regret that plague expenditure has been reduced in the current budget. It seems to me that there is room for a great deal of expenditure to check the spread of the disease and to minimise its evils. I do not know why health camps, similar to those that have proved so successful in saving life at Allaha-

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bad, are not established in other districts. They have afforded the most absolute protection to those who have sought shelter in them. Your Honour yourself has seen some of these camps, and I do hope that the erection of such camps will be encouraged more than it has been in the past. If arrangements are made for lighting and the supply of water and for Police protection, people will willingly resort to them. It is also very desirable that the establishment of model bustees and villages should be encouraged. As plenty of open land is available in villages, it would not be difficult to erect such model bustees there. Since Your Honour's Government declared three years ago that sanitation would be in the main line of defence against plague, it has become even more important than before that the sanitation of both our towns and villages should be greatly improved. This cannot satisfactorily be done without grants from the Provincial revenues. The sums which become available to Municipal Boards by their being relieved of police charges have been mostly absorbed by plague expenditure and other charges, and the funds at the disposal of the Board do not, generally speaking permit of any extensive sanitary improvements within their areas. The death-rate in towns is higher than in villages. The water works which have been introduced in many important towns have not proved to be an

unmixed evil; indeed, in some places, they have affected the health of the locality adversely. Unless a proper system of drainage is introduced, the health of these towns will not be what it should be; and this cannot be brought about without help for the Government. Benares acted as boldly as any Municipality could in taking up a very costly scheme of drainage but it has come to the end of its resources. The scheme of drainage cannot be carried out to completion there for want of funds. Benares cannot even borrow more money to complete its drainage, because it cannot increase its taxation. Allahabad has suffered grievously from plague. A system of drainage is badly wanted there. Many years ago a complete scheme of drainage was devised when Mr. Porter was the Collector there, which was calculated to cost 6 lakhs. It was not carried out because funds were not available. If it had been carried out, Allahabad might have escaped part at least of the heavy loss of life which it has suffered within the last three years. I am told that the Municipal Board of Allahabad is likely to apply soon for a loan of two lakhs to carry out a part of a scheme of drainage. It is obviously much to be desired that a complete scheme be carried into execution as early as may be practicable. But this can only be done if the Government will help the Board with funds. Besides these larger Municipalities, the smaller Municipalities also

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stand in need of help from Government to improve their sanitation. Plague is a disease closely connected with the soil. The paving of lanes, the opening up of congested localities, the construction of pakka drains, are all necessary to secure a healthy soil, and all these require money. Your Honour's Government has not got the money to help to bring about an improvement in the sanitation of the Provinces. Unless the Government of India permit you to appropriate a larger portion of the revenues raised from taxation in these Provinces, the needs of the Provinces cannot be met even in such a vital matter as sanitation. I find that one lakh has been set apart in the budget for drainage in villages. Little improvement can be effected with such a small sum.

The needs of the provinces in the matter of education next claim attention. I tender my thanks to the Government for the grants it has made for education. But I regret to say they are grossly insufficient. Let us first take up University education. When the Report of the University Commission was published, there was a widespread belief that the beginning of a Teaching University would be made by endowing a few chairs at the seat of the Allahabad University. It is believed that a scheme was prepared, and that it received Your Honour's approval. It was estimated that an expenditure of a lakh or a lakh and a half

would have enabled Your Honour's Government to make a fair beginning. But the scheme has been given up because the money has not been forthcoming. The Government of India have no doubt given us small temporary grants for University education, which they have ear-marked for special purpose. But they have not given us a grant wherewith to make the beginning of a Teaching University, and the hopes that had been raised in that respect have been sorely disappointed. In the matter of secondary education our position is not more satisfactory. In reviewing the last report on Public Instruction, Your Honour was pleased to point out that a recurring increase of expenditure of eight lakhs of rupees per annum and a non-recurring expenditure of $14\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees is required to meet schemes which are ready and only waiting for funds, and that this sum was required for reforms which were most urgently needed. Your Honour declared at the same time that such an expenditure was beyond the means of the Local Government. It is regrettable that the Government of India have not thought it fit to help this Government even with the small sum named above. In the matter of Primary Education our needs are still greater. The learned Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Lewis who deserves our thanks for having laboured strenuously to promote education as far as was possible, with

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such means as were placed at his disposal, has very ably drawn a comparison between the position of education in these Provinces and that in the sister Provinces, and has made a most earnest and eloquent appeal for larger grants for education for these Provinces. I cannot do better than reproduce Mr. Lewis' remarks here. After pointing out that of all the larger divisions of India, the United Provinces remain the least favoured, having only Rs. 80 per thousand of the population for expenditure on education, while Bombay which stands at the other end of the scale finds Rs. 245 per thousand of the population for the same purpose. Mr. Lewis remarks :—"It is scarcely reasonable to expect education to be spread so widely, or if as widely spread, to be so efficient in a province with a small public expenditure as in another which spends more than three times the amount in proportion to the population. To remove the inequality and to raise the United Provinces up to the Bombay standard of liberality, we need to increase our public expenditure on education from 38 lakhs (the amount shown in my last report with our share of the 35 lakhs grant added) to 117 lakhs, i.e. we ought to come in for a further provision of nearly 80 lakhs a year on the supposition that progressive Bombay stands still: but, allowing for the inevitable expansion there, it would seem, that measures are called for to spend in these Provinces

before very long not less than a crore of rupees annually in addition to the present outlay. If these figures are true it will not do to put them aside because they are startling. It will be necessary to consider them, to become familiar with them to acknowledge their irresistible logic, to take action to redress any existing inequitable inequalities that may have to be admitted when every possible allowance has been made for circumstances that may justly be held to modify the case." I entirely agree with the learned Director when he says that the acknowledged educational needs of India cannot be said to be satisfactorily met so long as the excessive deficiencies of the Province which stands second of all Provinces of the Indian Empire in size and population, remain unnoticed and unremedied. It is deplorable that when the people are convinced of the value of education and are crying for more schools, the Government should not meet their wants, particularly when their contributions to Government amply justify their demands. I cannot conclude these remarks on Education without referring to the condition of Female Education in these Provinces. It needs no saying that these Provinces lag behind every other Province in the matter of the education of its daughters as of its sons. The last report on Public Instruction shows that in the United Provinces only one girl out of 140 was at school. Last year

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Your Honour's Government was pleased to appoint a Committee, on which I had the honour to serve, to report on the state of Female Education in these Provinces and the practical measures which might be adopted to promote it. The Committee made its report after much and careful enquiry. The measures which it recommended and which involved an expenditure of six lakhs received the approval and support of the Director of Public Instruction. But the learned Director being afraid that the Government might not be able to spare that sum, recommended an increase of expenditure of three lakhs only. Your Honour's Government however found itself unable to spare even that sum. In reply to the Director's letter your Government was constrained to say :—

‘There seems no prospect that the Government will be able for some time to come to give effect greatly though it values them, to the recommendations of the Committee in their entirety. His Honour regrets that the Government has no funds to make any further allotment for the purpose during the year 1906—07.’

For industrial education an additional sum of Rs. 15,000 only is provided in the Budget. It will thus be seen that every branch of education is starved in these Provinces, and there is no hope of any material improvement unless the Government of India can be

persuaded to make a fairer allotment of Provincial Revenues for expenditure within the Provinces.

I wish now to submit a few remarks upon the question of the employment of Indians in the Public Service in these Provinces. There is a growing feeling that the claims of Indians to higher appointments do not receive here the consideration which they deserve. There are six Judges in the High Court of these Provinces. There is only one Indian among them. In the Madras High Court out of six Judges two are Indians. There are three Judges in the Judicial Commissioner's Court at Lucknow. Not one of them is an Indian. Indian lawyers have so well established their claim to hold the highest appointment in the Judicial service of their country, with honour to themselves and benefit to the public, that the matter does not require to be argued. And there is no lack of Indian lawyers in the United Provinces who could, with advantage be appointed Judges of the High Court or the Judicial Commissioner's Court. I draw attention to this matter in the hope that when the next vacancy or vacancies occur in the High Court or the Judicial Commissioner's Court, the claims of Indian lawyers will be borne in mind, and the Government will show as liberal an appreciation of their worth and work, as is shown in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, and even in the Punjab.

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In the matter of District Judgeships also, Indians do not receive a fair share of appointments. Many years ago the Public Service Commission recommended that four District Judgeships should be reserved for and filled up by members of the Provincial Civil Service. But no such member has yet been appointed a District Judge. No doubt there are five Statutory Civilians acting as District Judges in these Provinces; but they hold their appointments by the right of being members of the Statutory Civil Service, and the fact of their holding these posts offers no justification for keeping the members of the Provincial Service out of the appointments which have been reserved for them. There can be no pretence for saying that the Subordinate Judges of the United Provinces are not by ability, training and experience qualified to fill the posts of District Judges. The general excellence of their work as judicial officers is too well established to admit of any question, and is also attested by the number of their decisions which are restored on appeal to the Privy Council. That the ablest and most experienced of them should be passed over and Joint Magistrates of a few years' standing appointed as District Judges over their heads, involves not merely an injustice to the claims of a deserving body of public servants, but is also injurious to the interests of the public. It is regrettable to find that Subordinate Judges

are not often appointed even to officiate for District Judges now. I hope their claims to such appointments, both permanent and officiating, will receive better consideration in the future.

A complaint has been made that the Subordinate Judicial Service of Agra is overworked. I regret to have to endorse that view. The whole service requires to be reorganized and the work to be redistributed. Of all servants of State, Judicial officers ought to be the least overworked. There is need for increasing the staff and also for revising the scale of their salaries, which should be assimilated to that of the subordinate executive service and put on the same level as in Bengal.

Going down to the executive offices, one regrets to hear the complaint that even there the claims of Indians are disregarded, and the most competent among them are passed over on unreal grounds in favour of Eurasian clerks. Such complaints are made in the offices of the Board of Revenue and the Government Secretariat. They are also made in relation to the Commissioners' offices. I understand that not even in one of the eight Commissionerships is the post of Head Assistant to the Commissioner held by an Indian. The managers of estates under the Court of Wards are, with a few exceptions, all Europeans or Eurasians; and the same complaint of partiality to Euro-

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peans and Eurasians as against Indians is heard in the Education Department, and generally in relation to all the minor Civil Services. Both my friend the Hon'ble Rai Sri Ram Bahadur and myself drew attention to these complaints two years ago ; but I regret to find that matters have not yet improved. I know that competitive examinations are not much in favour in high official circles in these Provinces. But I still feel it my duty to say that they afford probably the best means of putting an end to all complaints of partiality and of securing that every man, of whatever race or creed shall be judged and rewarded according to his merit. The complaints of such servants of the State as occupy humble positions and cannot make themselves heard are apt to be ignored ; but the injustice which is done to them rankles in their hearts, and leads to unfavourable comments on the Government. I hope therefore that the Government will be pleased to see that their grievances are duly considered and redressed.

Before I conclude, I wish to make a few observations on the question of the prosperity of the people of these Provinces. I find that a rise in excise income is regarded in some quarters as an indication of prosperity. A rise of nearly half a lakh in the receipts from the Income Tax was similarly ascribed in the last General Report on the administration of these Provin-

ces to the growth of prosperity. In the same summary, however, it was stated that a weak point in the administration of the Income tax is that there are indications of a tendency to squeeze into the lowest grade persons recently exempted for having incomes less than Rs. 1,000. There is nothing to show that the rise in the excise revenue is not due to the fact that the habit of drink is growing upon the people. It is stated in the last General Report on administration that there has been no growth of manufacture worth speaking of, and there is no other evidence of the growth of prosperity among the people. I should be delighted if there was, but I regret to say that I do not see any indication of increasing prosperity. The Hon'ble Mr. Reynolds has observed that those who say that the poverty of the people is growing are not correctly informed. That may be so, so far as Agra is concerned. But the question is whether there or elsewhere in the Provinces the people are as well off as they should be under the British Government the administration of which is carried on by a body of men which is regarded as one of the best civil services in the world. Considering how fertile the country is in its natural resources, how laborious and simple the people in their habits, that the task of promoting their welfare has so long been in the hands of a most enlightened body of men, it is undeniable

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that their material condition is far from what it should be, and that it calls for improvement in almost every conceivable direction. Steeped in ignorance, pressed down by poverty living in insanitary surroundings, and decimated by disease, the people cannot be said to be enjoying a healthy, much less a prosperous, existence.

In the remarks which I have submitted to the Council to-day, I have endeavoured to show in how many respects the condition of the people requires to be improved. To put them in a position to tide over seasons of adversity without assistance from the State, to give them a decent degree of education, which lies at the root of all other improvements to improve their sanitary surroundings, a much greater expenditure of the revenues raised from them is essential. And that is only possible if the Government of India will realize the responsibilities of its position, and permit a fair proportion of the revenues of the Provinces to be spent for the benefit of the people. The whole future of these Provinces rests with the Government of India. If it fails to fully recognise our needs and the justice of our claim to a larger share of our revenues, these Provinces will continue to be backward and unprosperous. The present provincial settlement is based upon no principle. When the scheme of decentralization was first introduced the

amount of actual expenditure in each Province was taken as the basis of the settlement, without any regard either to the needs of the Province or to its total contributions to the Imperial Government. All subsequent settlements have been vitiated by the same want of principle and the absence of any policy in determining them. The Government of India have to recognise that as they control the revenues of the Provinces, it is they who are primarily responsible for the advancement of the people. They have also to recognise that measures which have a direct and immediate bearing on the well-being of the people, are entitled to a larger share of the revenues than matters of imperial concern. If this is once recognised the Government of India will cease to feel that it has done its duty by the people of these Provinces when it has given something every now and then by way of a dole or a special grant for special purposes. It is high time it were recognised that 'finance', as a great English writer has remarked, 'is not mere arithmetic ; finance is a great policy. Without sound finance no sound Government is possible ; without sound Government, no sound finance is possible.' The people of these Provinces have waited long and suffered a great deal. I hope that they will not have to wait much longer to see a sound financial policy, based on a consideration of both the needs and the contributions of the people,

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adopted by the Government of India which will make it possible for them to live and prosper as the subjects of a great civilised Government should."

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The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made the following speech at a meeting of the Allahabad Legislative Council held in March 1907 under the Presidentship of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor Sir John Prescott Hewett K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

YOUR HONOUR,—The Financial Statement presented to the Council by the Hon'ble the Financial Secretary has been described by him as the statement of a deficit province. The description would, in my opinion, be complete if we were to say 'of a deficit and distressful province,' distressful in more respects than one, but in none more than in this that it is not allowed by the Government of India to spend a fair share of the revenues raised in these Provinces to promote the well-being of the people.

The statement discloses provincial finance in much the same deplorable condition in which it was a year ago. The revision of the provincial settlement which we were led to hope would be taken up by the Government of India during the year, has been deferred till September, 1907, and the amelioration of our condition has thus been delayed by one year more. It is very much to be regretted that the

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Government of India were not able to find time to revise the settlement during the year.

Taking the statement as it stands, the improvement in the revenues of the year, due to the increase of Rs. 32,72,339 in irrigation receipts is not a matter of unmixed satisfaction; as nearly $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of this increase is due to the higher rate imposed on superior crops among which is classed sugarcane. In the present state of the sugar industry these enhanced rates cannot but add to the disadvantages under which it is labouring. Nor is the increase in stamp revenue a matter of satisfaction, as it is largely the result of growing litigation and of an extension of borrowings—necessitated largely by untoward circumstances. On the expenditure side of the budget, the two or three items of luxury might well have been postponed until some of the pressing wants of the people had been met. Considering the large needs of education, the provision made for it in the new budget is extremely poor. There is little provision for increased sanitation, and none evidently for any expenditure on measures to combat plague, unless it may be included in the small medical budget.

Considering that the medical expenditure is only Rs. 37 per thousand in these Provinces, the provision for medical relief is equally unsatisfactory. The medical budget makes provision for meeting an excep-

tional run of promotion among the senior Civil Surgeons, for improving the compound of the lunatic asylum at Agra, for grants-in-aid of the building of hospitals for women, and for payments of orderlies of Civil Surgeons, but very little is provided for medicines. There is one pleasing feature, however, in the budget which deserves particular notice, namely, the provision for a beginning being made towards the assistance of indigenous industries of the Provinces, for which Rs. 25,000 has been set apart for meeting the cost of measures which may be decided upon later.

In concluding the Financial Statement the Hon'ble the Financial Secretary draws attention to the very unsatisfactory state of our provincial finance. Even with the high estimates of excise and stamp receipts which the Government of India have evidently forced this Government to make, the deficit is reckoned at 4 $\frac{2}{3}$ lakhs. It will probably be considerably larger. The legitimate demands of expenditure have not been provided for. We cannot congratulate ourselves upon the state of our finances. We can only join the Financial Secretary in the hope that the promised revision of settlement will provide us in permanence with adequate sources of income.

Improvement in the condition of the people being the real test of good government, it would be well on the occasion of the discussion of the annual provincial

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budget, to consider that, if any progress has been achieved in this direction. The salient features of the situation might at least be noted and considered. Nearly twenty years ago the Government of India ordered 'an enquiry into the economic condition of the agricultural and labouring classes in the North West Provinces and Oudh'. The result of that inquiry showed that the material condition of the people had become worse than it was some decades before, and was extremely unsatisfactory. In answer to the queries addressed to him by the Government, Mr. E. B. Alexander, Collector, of Etawah, wrote: "In all ordinary years I should say that the cultivators live for at least one-third of the year on advances, and in unfavourable years, they have either to increase the amount of their debt to the Bohra or to sell off jewellery, cattle or anything else which can possibly be spared. . . . The landless labourer's condition must still be regarded as by no means all that could be desired."

Mr. White, collector of Banda wrote: "A very large number of the lower classes of the population clearly demonstrate by the poorness of their physique that they are habitually half-starved."

"As a rule, said Mr. Rose, Collector of Ghazipur, a very large proportion of the agriculturists in a village are in debt."

Mr. Harington, Commissioner of Fyzabad, wrote:

“The same authority (Mr. W. C. Benett) remarks : ‘It is not till he has gone into these subjects in detail. that a man can fully appreciate how terribly thin the line is which divides large masses of people from absolute nakedness and starvation.’ I believe that this remark is true of every district of Oudh ; the differences between them consisting in the greater or smallet extent of the always large proportion which is permanently in this depressed and dangerous condition. On the question whether the impression that the greater proportion of the people of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of foods—my own belief, after a good deal of study of the closely connected question of agricultural indebtedness, is that the impression is probably true, as regards a varying but always considerable part of the year in the greater part of India.”

These solemn statements of high officials of Government made in confidential reports showed beyond doubt that the condition of the people was lamentable. Has it changed for the better or for worse during the eighteen years that have since elapsed ?

This would be best made clear if the Government would order an inquiry similar to that made in 1888. The testimony of some patent facts would lead to an unhappy conclusion. Foremost among these may be mentioned the increase and decrease in the population which has taken place during the period.

The report of the last census shows that between 1891 and 1901 the total population increased from 46,905,085 to 47,691,782 or by 1·7 per cent only, while the normal rate of increase estimated for these Provinces in 1891 was 3 per cent per year, that is to say that the actual increase has been little more than half the normal rate. Besides this, adding the number of births which took place between 1891 and 1901 to the census population of 1891, and subtracting from it the number of deaths which occurred during the same period, the population should have been in 1901 over 49 millions, but the actual population was little over 47½ millions only *i.e.*, there was a deficit of 16 lakhs. After making every possible correction and allowance Mr. Burn found that there was a deficit of between three to five lakhs and a quarter which could not be accounted for, and he had to say that the deficiency must be spread over the four black years 1894, 1895, 1896 and 1897, which were years of drought and distress. This means that at least between three to five lakhs of people died mainly of starvation and disease brought about by starvation during those four years.

Following closely upon the heels of famine, plague has been working its ravages in these Provinces for the last seven years. More than as many lakhs of people have already fallen victims to it. The deaths in 1905-06 alone amounted to 383,802. Out of 107 towns with a

population of over ten thousand, only eight had no deaths from plague. The total number of deaths recorded during the year was 2,038,300 against 1,654,949 in the preceding year and the death rate was 44 per mile as compared with 36.70 in 1904. The excess of deaths over births per thousand of population was 2.76. Twenty five districts recorded death rates in excess of birth rates. And nearly 27 per mile of the deaths, i.e. half the total mortality, were assigned to fever. The death rate for the whole of India was 35 per thousand, for the United Kingdom 16 ; for the United Provinces it was 44 per thousand.

These figures tell a sad tale. Making every allowance for differences of opinion as to the causes of the mortality, they certainly do not indicate that healthy growth and improvement in the condition of the people which we have a right to expect when large revenues are raised from the people and the country is administered by enlightened and capable men. They rather evidence a deterioration which is truly deplorable. Famine is no doubt caused by a failure of the rains, but it would not lead to any deaths from starvation if the mass of the people were not so miserably poor and their resources not so slender as they are. Nor would fever and even plague claim such a large number of victims, but for the chronic abject poverty of the people which compels them to live in

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insanitary surroundings, and is responsible for the general unhealthiness and the low vitality which prevail among them owing to their not always having sufficient to eat.

This is a state of thing which loudly calls for improvement. And the fine measure that I would suggest towards that end would be a reduction of the burden on land. The vast mass of the people of these Provinces depend for their subsistence on land. In the report of the last census of 1901 over 66 per cent of the people were returned as workers, at, or dependents on, pasture and agriculture of all kinds. A reduction in the land revenue demand, which would result in a large measure of the fruits of his industry being left to the tiller of the soil than is the case at present, would be the surest means of effecting an improvement in his position. I would go further and say that nothing else will without it bring about the measure of improvement which is needed. I am supported in this view by the opinion of no less eminent an authority than Mr. J. E. O'Connor, late Director-General of Statistics in India, expressed in the admirable paper which he read nearly two years ago before the Society of Arts in London. Speaking with an experience of forty years, spent on a study of the economic condition of the people, Mr. J. E. O'Connor pointed out that the condition of all classes of persons who depend directly upon lands

calls for much improvement and pleaded earnestly for a change in the present agrarian policy of the Government. It is no complete defence of that policy,' as he rightly observed, to compare the assessment on the land to-day with the assessment in the days of our predecessors. It does not follow that we are very moderate in our demands on the land because we do not take so much as was squeezed from the cultivators by rulers and Governors who were highly esteemed if they did a man the favour of allowing him to live. We ought to arrange to let him live and thrive, not take from him the competition rent of a private landlord.

Mr. O'Connor went on to point out in clear words the right course which ought to be pursued if the condition of the agriculturist is to be improved. He said :—

"It is doubtful whether the efforts now being made take the cultivator out of the hands of the money lender will have much effect or even if they have the fullest effect that they will materially improve the cultivators' position until a large share of the produce of the soil is left in his hands and he is protected against enhanced assessment by Government officials and against industries more important than all the rest put together, and it should receive from the State more discerning attention than, I am afraid, has as yet been given to it. We must appreciate to the full all that the State is doing,

or proposing to do, in the provision of irrigation, in the provisions of advances for improvements, in lessons on reformed methods of cultivation, in the introduction of new plants and imported implements ; but—important as these are, specially the development of irrigation,—I have little doubt that the reduction of land revenue by 25 or 30 per cent, if the reduction is secured to the profit of the cultivator, would be of far more value in the improvement of the class who constitute the bulk of the population and who contribute most largely to the finance of the State,”

The second measure that I would recommend would be an extension of a Permanent Settlement of the land revenue to those parts of the Provinces where it does not exist at present. I am sure this will lead to a great and lasting improvement in the economic condition of the people. I acknowledge that we are better off in the matter of land revenue assessment and in having long-term settlements than some other Provinces of India. But I strongly hold that our position, though not so bad as that of some other Provinces, is still bad enough in itself, and a Permanent Settlement is needed to put a check upon a continual growth of the burden on land, and in order to make an accumulation of capital and the promotion of other industries possible in the agriculturist world.

For the last one hundred years no other large question connected with the land revenue of India has been so much and so thoroughly discussed as the question of a Permanent Settlement of the land revenue demand. Its advantages and disadvantages have been fully considered, and the result of the discussion leaves no room for doubt that such a settlement will tend in a large measure to promote prosperity and contentment among the people. Leaving the history of earlier years aside, we find that shortly after the Mutiny, proposals for such a settlement were definitely put forward by Colonel Baird Smith. In a minute recorded by the then Lieutenant Governor of these Provinces on those proposals, he said :—

“ I do not in the least doubt that the gradual and cautious concession of a guarantee of permanency to the settlement of the land revenue in the North-Western Provinces generally will be productive of all the advantages which Colonel Baird Smith, and Mr. Muir in even greater detail have depicted. Judging by the effects of settlement for long periods, it may be safely anticipated that the limitation of Government demand in perpetuity will in a much larger degree lead to the investment of capital in the land. The wealth of the agricultural classes will be increased. The prosperity of the country and the strength of the community will be augmented, land will command a

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much higher price. The prospective loss which the Government will incur by relinquishing its share of the profits arising from extended cultivation and improved productiveness, will be partly, if not wholly, compensated by the indirect returns which would be derived from the increased wealth and prosperity of the country at large."

On the 5th July 1862 that large hearted and far-sighted administrator, Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence recorded his opinion in favour of a Permanent Settlement for India. Said he :—

"I recommend a Permanent Settlement because I am persuaded that however much the country has of late years improved, its resources will be still more rapidly developed by the limitation of the Government demand. Such a measure will still further encourage the investment of money in the land."

In a letter, dated the 9th of July 1863, Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India expressed his entire approval of the proposal of a Permanent Settlement of the land revenue of India. In that letter the Secretary of State said :—

"Her Majesty's Government entertain no doubt of the political advantages which would attend a Permanent Settlement. On the agricultural population the effect will be as pointed out by Colonel Baird Smith the elevation of the social condition of the

people and their consequent ability, not only to meet successfully the pressure occasioned by seasons of distress, but in ordinary times to bear increased taxation in other forms without difficulty; the feeling of ownership or, in other words, the absolute certainty of the full enjoyment of the reward for all the labour and capital which they may invest in the land, will be sure to call out all their energies for its improvement."

The argument which is generally put forward against a Permanent Settlement, namely, the loss for all time to Government of the prospective increase of revenue from land, was fully weighed and disposed of in the following words of wisdom and far-sighted statesmanship.—

"Her Majesty's Government confidentially expect that a people in a state of contentment and progressive improvement will be able without difficulty to contribute to the revenue in other ways to such an extent as more than to compensate for the disadvantage of foregoing some prospective increase from that land."

The conclusion arrived at by Her Majesty's Government was summed up in the following words:—

"Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may reasonably be expected to accrue not only to those immediately connected with the land, but to the community generally, are sufficiently

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great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of land revenue in order to attain them and that a settlement in perpetuity in all districts in which the conditions absolutely required as preliminary to such a measure are, or may hereafter be fulfilled, is a measure dictated by sound policy, and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to ensure in the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in that country."

This unambiguous declaration of Her Majesty's Government in favour of a Permanent Settlement led people to believe that the matter was definitely settled for ever. It was so regarded by the Local Government in these Provinces. In a minute recorded in 1868 Sir William Muir, the then Lieutenant Governor, wrote as follows :—

"When the subject came finally before the Home and Indian Governments every argument that could be urged for or against the measure was before them, and was duly weighed, and the decision was definitely come to that, under certain conditions, a Permanent Settlement should be conceded. That decision has been pronounced by the supreme authority and has been with every formality promulgated. It is no longer a matter of individual opinion, the merits and demerits of which are open to question or to discussion in official reports."

Sir William Muir issued instructions to the Settlement officers of these Provinces to carry out the decision so arrived at in the settlements which were then in progress. But owing to some unfortunate and inexplicable cause, action was postponed and the decision practically put aside. For many years the question remained in abeyance, and then the Secretary of State for India, in his despatch, dated the 28th March 1883, declared, to the great disappointment of the Indian public, that the policy laid down in 1862 must be formally abandoned. The arguments in favour of the adoption of that policy were so weighty and numerous, that the conclusion is irresistible that the proposal was abandoned because the Government cared more for the Government revenue than for the well-being of the people.

Lord Ripon recognised the evils of periodical settlements, and with a view to minimise them and to secure to the agriculturists some of the advantages of a Permanent Settlement, his Lordship laid down, in his despatch, dated the 17th October, 1882, the principle that in districts which had once been surveyed and assessed by the Settlement Department assessment should undergo no further revision except on the sole ground of a rise in prices. This proposal had this advantage for the Government that it left the door open for an increase of land revenue on the ground of a rise

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in prices. But even this was rejected by the Secretary of State for India in his despatch, dated the 8th January, 1885. The result is that while Government of India is rejoicing in surpluses obtained in no small measure by the increase in land revenue, the condition of those who contribute so largely to that revenue has been steadily deteriorating.

It has been repeatedly said by the highest officials of Government that the agriculturists deserve the first consideration at the hands of the Government. To quote only the latest utterance, His Excellency the Viceroy said the other day at Calcutta:—

“Our land revenue tells a tale of increasing wealth to great proprietors, but still more, I hope, of abundance of the necessities of life to the small tiller of the soil. He is the man we must strive to help. He is to a great extent the backbone of the population of India. On his welfare depends much of the happiness and contentment of the people.”

But these expressions of sympathy have not unfortunately brought much practical relief to the people. His Excellency expressed the hope that the small tiller of the soil is provided with an abundance of the necessities of life. He would be disillusioned if he would order an enquiry into the economic condition of the cultivator. The Government of India are entitled to think that they have been able to administer ‘a very

palpable relief' to the small tiller of the soil in having reduced the salt tax by Re. 1 a maund. He will be grateful for it. But the relief that he stands even more in need of is a reduction of the land tax and a guarantee against the enhancement of the tax in future. This would be secured if a Permanent Settlement is effected on a reasonably reduced revenue. In the words of a great writer, 'a Permanent Settlement would have an effect altogether beyond immediate calculation in stimulating the industry, enterprise and self-reliance of the agriculturists, the application of capital, the accumulation of wealth. It would contribute more than any other measure to augment the wealth of the agriculturist. It will cause all other taxes—the miscellaneous taxes to rise except the land-tax, and there will be a sufficient increase of resources from other sources of revenue.' This then is the best means of giving a palpable relief to the agriculturist. And I earnestly hope that the desirability of introducing it will receive an earnest consideration at the hands of the Government.

The next important point connected with the welfare of the agriculturist to which I wish to invite the attention of the Government is the state of the indigenous sugar industry. Sugarcane crops occupy from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ million acres of superior land in these Provinces, and produce nearly 50 per cent. of the whole indigenous supply of sugar. Sugar has always been

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one of our largest industries. Speaking of sugar in the Viceroy's Council in 1877-78, Sir John Starchey said :—

“It is one of the most important agricultural staples of those Provinces, and it is important not only to the agriculturist and manufacturers and consumers but directly to the Government, which looks greatly to sugar cultivation for its irrigation revenue.”

Mauritius sugar had then begun to be imported largely into Bombay, but the competition between it and Indian sugar had not yet reached formidable proportions and no step was taken to check it. Up to 1890 the sugar that was imported into India came almost wholly from Mauritius. After 1890, while the sugar from Mauritius continued to increase the importation from Austria and Germany vastly increased. About the same time the attention of Her Majesty's Government was drawn to the critical condition of the sugar industries in the West India islands brought about by the large imports of the bounty-fed sugar of Europe there. Thereupon Her Majesty's Government called a Conference of the Powers to have the bounty system revised. When the Conference separated without coming to a practical conclusion, the Chamber of Commerce for Upper India and other bodies recommended that the Government should at once take measures to impose a countervailing duty on bounty-fed sugar. This was done, and during the two

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years that the countervailing duties were in force, the import of bounty-fed beet sugar was reduced from three millions to little more than a half million cwts. The other Powers agreed, however, later on to modify the system of bounties from September 1903, and the Government of India consequently ceased to levy countervailing duties from that time. With the removal of these duties the imports of the beet sugar have gone up by leaps and bounds ; while the imports of refined cane sugar, chiefly from Java and Mauritius, have also been growing. The imports of the last twelve months would probably not be far short of half a million tons, i.e., will be about one-fifth of the total average production of indigenous sugar.

Mr. Moreland, Director of Land Records and Agriculture, in his article on the sugar industry in the current number of the Agricultural Journal of India points out that the superior foreign sugar can be landed in India at prices which give them an advantage over the cost of sugar prepared by indigenous methods, and he is driven to the conclusion that if the cost of manufacturing sugar cannot be reduced, the indigenous industry will be killed, the cultivator will lose a large part of his market and improvements in methods of cultivation will be of little avail when the increased produce is unsaleable. I acknowledge the efforts which

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the Government of these Provinces have been making for the last few years to introduce improved methods for the manufacture of sugar. The paper published by Mr. Moreland and the invention made by Mr. Hadi, which the Government is endeavouring to popularise, are no doubt calculated to improve the position of the Swadeshi sugar industry. Every effort should be made to start more factories, to produce cheap and good sugar, according to modern methods. But we should not delude ourselves with the hope that there will be such a sudden, rapid, and considerable development of such factories as will enable the indigenous industry to successfully compete with, and keep out, foreign sugar. The people have not the necessary scientific training and skill needed for the business, nor have they yet been trained to the organization and enterprise of their foreign competitors.

Even when new factories are started on modern lines, the competition of the foreign sugar will still greatly hinder the growth of the indigenous industry. In the last annual report, the Director of the Cawnpore Sugar Works stated that 'the sugar refining industry in India has had to contend against a combination of adverse circumstances which the Board have no hesitation in describing as unparalleled, chief among these being the high prices of the raw material and the enormous import of beet and cane sugar from

foreign countries where Bumper crops had been reaped.' It has been observed by a great English writer that 'a country may be so over-governed by a watchful administration as to lose, to a greater or less extent, the spirit of enterprise or initiation, and thereby to be weakened in the legitimate rivalry of nations.' The truth of it is sadly illustrated in the condition of our people ; and it is clear that having regard to the relative positions of the foreign and the native industry, and the generally want of scientific training and enterprise among the people, to rely only upon improved processes of refining and manufacturing sugar to save the indigenous industry from extinction would be unwise. What then is the remedy ?

In my opinion the only measure which can at the present juncture save the indigenous industry from being killed by foreign competition is a prohibitive import duty. Even the *Pioneer* admits that such a duty is the only means by which foreign sugar could be kept out of the country ; but I regret that it opines that it may be taken for granted that no such duty will ever again be imposed. I venture to submit that the removal of the countervailing duties was, as subsequent events have proved it, a great mistake. Failure to impose an import duty even now would be a greater mistake and will have disastrous results on the happiness and contentment of a large number of the people.

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The position of the sugar industry is now much worse than it was in 1899, when the Government of India thought it fit to protect it by imposing countervailing duties on foreign sugar. In the last Administration report, the Government of these Provinces says that 'the sugar industry remains depressed, and under existing conditions, cannot withstand the competition of foreign sugar.' In a letter which His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces addressed to the Government of India in 1899, he pointed out how the importation of bounty-fed sugar had injured and was injuring the indigenous industry, and what His Honour urged then, is true even to-day, *i. e.* that—

"It is of much importance to these provinces to preserve their sugar industry on the basis of present arrangements than to have a cheap foreign sugar supplied to the consumers of the refined article."

The arguments then advanced by Sir James Andrew Westland to justify the imposition of an import duty on bounty-fed sugar apply with greater force to the case of foreign sugar to-day. I cannot do better than quote here the concluding words uttered by Sir James Westland in introducing the Bill in 1899. He said :—

"I think therefore the Council may take it as proved that we are in the presence of a real danger

to an important industry, and I trust they are sufficiently convinced that the time has come when if we are to protect our sugar industry in this country which is extremely important, it is necessary for us to take measures against bounty-fed importation. Of course we might wait a little longer ; we might wait till our refineries are still further closed, and till the raiyats are so impoverished as to give up cultivation altogether ; but it is better in these matters, I think, to take protective measures before-hand, because it is far more easy to revive and encourage an existing industry than to restore one which has been by adverse circumstances extinguished."

I would only substitute the word 'foreign' for 'bounty-fed' in this quotation, and would earnestly request Your Honour to commend the wisdom of these words to the Government of India.

I hope, Sir, that the recommendation that I have made will not be summarily rejected because it offends against the doctrines of free trade. Even Mr. Mill considered it expedient that protection should be given to certain industries in a new country provided that the country had good natural resources for the successful prosecution of such an industry and the protection accorded to it was only temporary. If a policy of protection is permissible to foster a new industry in a new country, it is more than permissible to protect a

large and ancient industry from extinction by foreign competition. Dogmas apart, neither protection nor free trade is beneficial for every country at every stage of its development. As was once observed by Bismarck free trade is the weapon of the strongest. It suits admirably an industrially advanced country like England; for an industrially backward country like India the policy of protection is a policy of wisdom and safety. I cannot better illustrate my position than by quoting here the remarks made by Count De Witte, the well-known Russian Minister of Finance, at the Congress for a discussion of the trade of Russia in 1903. Said the Count :—

“That the State in the province of consumption should furnish the population with cheap and suitable produce; and in the province of production, develop the productive powers of the country. A protective policy endeavours to attain this object by creating advantageous conditions for developing the national wealth of the country and by this means gradually inciting home competition, which must necessarily reduce the price of products to the normal cost of properly managed production, *plus* a normal profit for capital. Free trade specially furnishes a population with cheap produce by opening their frontiers to the entire world; but the history of the economical development of nations gives hardly any instance in which such a policy

has brought about a development of the productive powers of a nation. In any case the selection of a policy of protection or free trade depends upon conditions which occur at a given period. Hence we find that nations have frequently altered their commercial and industrial systems in the course of their historical development. England created her industry by rigorous protection, and when by this means she had become industrially and commercially stronger than any other nation and therefore, feared no competition, she adopted a policy of free trade and her talented writers began to assure the world that a policy of free trade was based upon invariable and indisputable scientific principles, and ought, therefore to be followed in practice by all nations. And yet, now that some countries, having turned a deaf ear to the theory of free trade, have developed their industries by protection and so become serious competitors to British trade in the world's market, a certain tendency may be noticed in England towards Protectionism. America was one of those countries which were not allured by the theory of free trade. She has acquired unprecedented industrial activity through protection ; a voice, was heard there calling for free trade, as in England, at the beginning of the last century.'

I am not pleading at this moment for a general import duty ; nor am I asking for a protective duty

to foster a new industry. All that I am pleading for, is protection to a large existing industry which is exposed to the danger of extinction from foreign competition. I venture to think that no free country in the world would hesitate to adopt such a measure as I recommend, to protect such a large and valuable national industry as our sugar industry. And I hope that the Government of England will allow the Government of India to impose such a duty. Happily for us there is no conflict of interests in this matter between England and India, as England does not produce any sugar; and no other nation can raise any reasonable objection to the proposal. The Government of India can well say to all, as it said in 1899 through Sir James Westland, that 'we only wish to protect our own industry; and we claim the same right to preserve our industry in this country as foreign nations no doubt claim to preserve and encourage the sugar industry and sugar cultivation in their own territories.' The Government recognised the wisdom of protecting indigenous sugar by an import duty in 1899. I hope they will recognise it equally well now. Of course the protection of such a duty as I recommend will be needed only for a time, that is to say, during the time in which the indigenous industry must be developed by the co-operation of the Government and the public, so to be

able to compete successfully with the foreign article without any protection.

It is satisfactory to note that the sentiment against the use of foreign sugar, and, in favour of the use of swadeshi sugar, is growing in intensity and spreading in the country. Earnest efforts are being made in various places through sabhas, societies and panchayats to discard and discourage the use of foreign sugar either on religious or economic grounds. But these efforts, and the sacrifices they involve, though commendable, cannot by themselves succeed in putting a stop to, or even largely checking the import of the foreign article. And the people will warmly welcome such a protective measure as I have suggested and feel deeply grateful to Government for it.

The interest which Your Honour has been pleased to evince in the cause of swadeshi sugar leads me to hope that all that is possible will be done by Your Honour to preserve and encourage our sugar industry. I hope you will be pleased to consider the suggestion which I have made, and to commend it to the Government of India for early consideration.

The next measure needed to improve the material condition of the agriculturist is agricultural education. The reorganization of the Department of agriculture on a large scale, the provision for the

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establishment of an agricultural college with research laboratories at Cawnpore, and for the establishment of agricultural stations, with experimental farms, are all matters for congratulation. But in order to provide for an effective system of agricultural education, it is necessary that we should take a leaf out of the book of Japan, and establish schools all over the Provinces for elementary and secondary education in agriculture. There are 503 supplementary agricultural schools of the elementary grade in Japan. These aim at imparting elementary agricultural knowledge to those who have completed their primary education, and there are 57 secondary institutions which are intended to give a scientific and practical training to the future farmers of the middle class. Graduates of the College of Agriculture at Tokio, which I hope our Agricultural College at Cawnpore will grow in likeness to, mostly become teachers, or engage in research. If similar provision is made here for instruction in scientific agriculture, the Indian agriculturist will be able, as much as his brother in Japan or America or Europe, to grow better and richer crops, to make the soil yield more than it does at present. It is time that such a system were introduced.

“It has been repeated times without number, and it is true, that agriculture must remain the foremost national industry of India. But when this is said,

only half the problem is stated. A purely agricultural country cannot prosper and be self-supporting any more than a merely manufacturing country. Especially when we have a vast continent situated as India is, favoured by nature as few other countries are, with immense natural resources to be developed, and a vast population to be served, it is essential for its prosperity that it should develop manufacturing industries as well as agricultural. It is gratifying to note that a welcome change has come about the attitude of the Government towards the encouragement of indigenous industries. This change was clearly foreshadowed in the memorable speech delivered by Your Honour as the Member of the Government of India in charge of the Department of Commerce and Industry last March in the Viceroy's Legislative Council. Your Honour has, since assuming charge of your present office, evinced much interest in and strong sympathy with the movement for the development of indigenous industries. And I look forward with hope to a great industrial advancement in these Provinces during Your Honour's administration. The first step that should be taken in the direction of industrial development is to make an exhaustive survey of the state of indigenous industries in the Provinces. I need not say much to prove the necessity of such a survey, as Your Honour yourself, speaking in another capa-

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city last year, urged Provincial Governments to very short time that has elapsed between your taking charge of your present exalted office and now. Your Honour has already taken the first steps in what I hope will be an exhaustive and fruitful investigation. If I may make a suggestion, I will say that the survey should be made on the lines of the industrial Survey of the Kolhapur State. That Survey was commenced in July 1882 and completed in March 1885, and it placed a mine of valuable information before the Government and the public as to the state of the existing industries and the means of improving and developing them, and also as to the possibility of starting new industries.

The next thing to do will be to appoint a Committee of educational experts and professional men in order to turn the knowledge acquired by the survey to the best account. The Government of India recognized the importance of such a step in the year 1888. And it was with regret that I learnt last week that it was decided two years later that such a survey was not required. But now that the importance of the latter step has been again recognised, thanks mostly to Your Honour yourself, I trust that the further step mentioned above will also be taken. It is not, however, necessary that meanwhile, we should stand still and not advance some steps

forward in pushing technical education in these Provinces.

In view of the particular importance of technical education at the present time, I beg leave to offer a few more observations on it. It is high time that a well-considered and complete system of technical education was introduced into these Provinces. Such a system should provide necessary instruction for all the different classes of persons who may desire to be engaged in productive industry, namely, as mechanical engineers, workmen, foremen, or overseers, and managers or masters. The industries in which they are likely to be employed may conveniently be referred to as manufactures, handicrafts, art industries and agriculture. I have already dealt with agriculture, and I leave aside art industries for the present. I would confine my remarks now to manufactures and handicrafts. And I submit that there should be at least one institution in these Provinces for giving instruction in the former, and one school in every district for giving instruction in the latter. I am willing that for the present attention may be mainly directed to the textile, industries and the sugar industry, while in what I may call the secondary technical schools which I wish to see started in every district, teaching may be restricted to those handicrafts which are, as it were native to the district, special provision being made for instruction

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in handloom weaving in nearly every one of the schools. In the superior institution for the teaching of manufacturing industries which I have mentioned, provision should be made for training managers and foremen, and instruction should be imparted at least in industrial chemistry, mechanical engineering, textile manufacture and sugar refining. I acknowledge with thankfulness the improvement made in the Thomson Engineering College at Roorkee and the further improvements that are in contemplation there. But I submit that a superior Technical College like the Higher Technical School at Tokio is an urgent and pressing want in these Provinces, and I think I make no extravagant or unreasonable demand on Government in urging the establishment of such a college. It is clearly the duty of Government to provide at least one such institution in such a large country as the United Provinces.

As regards secondary technical schools, I think Government should open one such school in every district. I will be content even if one school is started in every division as a beginning, for giving instruction in weaving, dyeing, bleaching, calico-printing, smithy, carpentry, enamelling, etc., Foremen and assistant should be trained in these schools.

I attach particular importance to weaving schools, with a workshop factory attached for imparting in-

struction in the use of improved looms with their accessories. India was probably the first of all countries that perfected weaving. "The tide of circumstances has compelled the Indian weaver to exchange his loom for the plough.' But the hand-loom still plays a great part in the economy of the Indian weaving industry. Twice the quantity of cloth manufactured in power-loom mills is still produced by hand-loom. At the time of the last census nearly $9\frac{1}{2}$ of lakhs people were employed in the weaving industry in these Provinces alone. And if improved looms are brought into use on a large scale, the Indian weaver will still have a bright future before him.

I am thoroughly alive to the necessity of substituting as far as possible, machine power for hand power, if we are successfully to fight our skilled and powerful competitors of the West. But I am not among those who think that our ancient cottage industries must be given up as useless. We ought to remember that not more than a comparatively small fraction of the population can ever be absorbed in great manufacturing enterprises. And the problem of ameliorating the condition of the mass of our artizan population will remain unsolved unless they are instructed and trained so as to become more skilled in their crafts, so as to be qualified to earn at least living wages. In this connection it is relevant to cite the opinion of Prince Kropatkin

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who argues that 'centrifugal forces already so far possess the upper hand that, not only in agriculture but in most branches of manufacture, the small business intelligently ordered and combining personal industry with the utilisation of scientific resources can outstrip great industries alike in productivity and profit.' Another writer, Mr. J.A. Hobson, rightly observes that :—

'The nation that all the manufactures are being absorbed by the factory system and are passing into the firms of great industries, that all the workers will gradually become employees of huge joint-stock companies, employing the most highly evolved machinery and the most scientific organization is a false generalisation which finds no support from the current statistics of occupations. When turning our eyes away from the dramatic rise of Trusts and Companies we survey more calmly the industrial field, we perceive not merely the survival of large clusters of small businesses in the older industries but the growth of new industries on a basis of small production. Those who contemptuously dismiss the small or domestic workshop as a morbid and absolescent form kept alive by cheap labour, and the "sweating system" ignore the more important causes making for the persistence of small privately ordered business. . . In the metal trades of such centres as Birmingham and Sheffield a vast amount of industry remains in the hands of small men.'

The conditions of India render the preservation and revival of our hand industries peculiarly important, and hand-loom weaving being by far the most extensive of these, and being easily capable of great development I venture to make a special appeal to the Government to establish model weaving schools and hand-loom factories at suitable localities in these Provinces.

It is also necessary that manual training should be introduced in all general schools. Speaking of the importance of manual training Professor Wiliam James of Harvard says :—

“The most colossal improvement which recent years have seen in secondary education lies in the introduction of the manual training schools; not because they will give us a people more hardy and practical for domestic life, and better skilled in trades, but because they will give us citizens with an entirely different intellectual fibre. Laboratory work and shop work engender a habit of observation, a knowledge of the difference between accuracy and vagueness, and an insight into nature’s complexity and into the inadequacy of all verbal accounts of real phenomena, which, once brought into the minds, remain there as life long possessions. They confer precision. They give honesty. They beget a habit of self-reliance. They occupy the pupil in a way most congruous with

the spontaneous interests of his age. They absorb him and leave impressions durable and profound. Compared with the youth taught by these methods, one brought up exclusively on books carries through life a certain remoteness from reality ; he stands, as it were, out of the pale, and feels that he stands so ; and often suffers a kind of melancholy from which he might have been rescued by a more real education."

In America and many other civilized countries, which have developed a national system of education on scientific lines, a well educated man must have been trained in the use of his hands. And so should he be here.

I cannot conclude my remarks on this subject without inviting the attention both of the Government and the public to the great industrial development that has taken place, in the last twenty-five years in Japan, and to the admirable system of industrial education which has brought about that development. It has a great lesson to teach us. Less than thirty years ago, Japan was, as India still is, essentially an agricultural country. It has now become a great industrial and commercial country. The agricultural exports of Japan including raw silk formed 51·6 per cent of her total exports in 1890. They had fallen to 37·8 per cent, in 1902, whilst her industrial exports had risen from 18 to 38 per cent. These exports consisted

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of woven goods, cotton yarn and raw silk, paper porcelain and earthenware, lacquered ware and matches. This change has been brought about by the system of industrial education introduced in Japan.

Industrial education in Japan may be dated from the establishment in 1873 of what is now the Engineering College at Tokio, followed by that of the Higher Technological School of Tokio which was established in May, 1881, and which received its present appellation on the 10th May 1901. In course of time industrial schools of secondary and elementary grades were established. The result was that in 1898 the Minister of Japan had the satisfaction to remark in his report: 'Industry is now passing from a limited scale of development to a more organized system on a large scale.' The Government fully recognized their duty of training competent teachers and for that purpose increased the number of higher technical schools.

Industrial education now imparted in Japan is divided into three grades:—

(1) The Lowest, or elementary grade of which there are 44 supplementary technical schools and 33 apprentices' schools. The expenditure on these schools amounted in 1902 to Rs. 2,13,255 ;

(2) Of intermediate, or secondary grade of which there are 25 industrial schools, which received in 1902 more than Rs. 93,000 from the Government ; and

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(3) Of the advanced grade, in which there are the three higher technical schools, the Engineering Department of the fifth higher school and the Engineering Colleges of the Imperial University.

The general subjects taught in supplementary technical schools include morals, Japanese, arithmetic; the special subjects, physics, chemistry, practical geometry, drawing, mechanics, dynamics, dyeing, weaving, applied chemistry, industrial designs &c. The industrial schools which were 25 in number in 1902 trained foremen and managers 'who have played a considerable part in the industrial development of Japan.' "The Higher technical schools," says the writer from whose report I have taken these facts "attach great importance to practical skill, and are equipped with numerous workshops and the newest apparatus and books so as to keep their students abreast of industrial progress." The most famous of these schools, namely, that of Tokio, had in 1902, 61 instructors and 957 pupils, and the expenditure on it amounted to only Rs. 1,23,66. Thus the money which the Government of Japan spends on the Higher Technological Schools at Tokio and the numerous secondary and elementary technical schools amounted in 1902 to less than 4½ lakhs. Is it too much to ask of the Government of these Provinces, which raises nearly 12 crores of rupees from the people, to spare such a small sum to build up a

system of industrial education like that of Japan? There is no branch of public education which deserved more immediate attention. The Government might well take that system as a model and a guide and make it the harbinger of a new era of national prosperity for the people entrusted to its care.

But both agricultural and industrial education should be built upon the foundation of a general primary education. And yet how deplorably backward we are even in the matter of such education. It is satisfactory to learn that the Government of India contemplate making primary education free all over the country. This would be a step in the right direction. But what is needed further is that primary education should be made compulsory as it is in England and Japan. It would do us good to look again at the progress which Japan has made in this matter also during the last thirty years only. It was then more ignorant than we were. But there were 27,000 primary schools in Japan in 1902, with over 50 lakhs of children receiving instruction in them; in the United Provinces, we had last year only 9,799 such schools, with only 4 lakhs and eleven thousand scholars; The total State expenditure on primary education in Japan in 1902 was nearly 5 crores a year. In the United Provinces it was only 14 lakhs a year! If we cannot rise to the scale of Japan at present, can there be any excuse for keeping

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the expenditure on education so low here as it is? Our late Director of Public Instruction repeatedly pointed out that the expenditure on education was lower in these Provinces than in any other Province of India and he showed that an addition to that expenditure of 80 lakhs a year was needed to put us on the same level with the sister Province of Bombay. But in spite of our repeated earnest representations, the Government of India have not yet seen their way to permit us to appropriate a sufficient portion of our revenues to meet even this most pressing expenditure. We have been contributing large revenues every year to the Imperial Exchequer. We have been crying for more schools, for more education. But it has not been given to us. It is our misfortune, not our fault, that we continue to be the most ignorant Provinces in the Indian Empire!

Nor is our position better in the matter of local and municipal finance. The condition of local and municipal finance is no doubt slightly better now than it was a few years ago, but it cannot yet be said to be satisfactory. These bodies are still living from hand to mouth. They are not in a position adequately to discharge the many important duties that are cast upon them; and while, as I believe, they have reached the limits of their resources, even their primary needs are not yet sufficiently provided for. What is

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needed is that in the first place the resources of both Municipal and District Boards should be considerably augmented not by periodical doles from the Supreme or the Provincial Government, but by definite annual subventions for general or special purposes. These may be either in the shape of assignments of the proceeds of some Imperial tax or of grants-in-aid. In the second place they should be totally relieved of all plague expenditure.

That Local and Municipal Bodies stand in need of such assistance cannot be disputed. The receipts of all the Municipalities in the United Provinces in the year 1905-06 did not exceed 72 lakhs, while their expenditure, restricted as it was, came to little over 71 lakhs. Out of a total municipal revenue of 72 lakhs the contribution from Government amounted to only Rs. 2, 34,000 or $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

The expenditure on education was 3 lakhs, or $\frac{4}{6}$ per cent, on medical relief a little less than $1\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and on sanitation, including water-supply, drainage and conservancy, it was less than 31 lakhs, or 43 per cent, inclusive of capital outlay on water and drainage works. And no serious and far-reaching steps seem to have been taken to check the ravages of plague which has for years been decimating the entire province. Nor can the incidence of municipal taxation per head of population be said to be low,

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as Rs. 1-8-3 in addition to the Imperial taxation of nearly Rs. 3 per head per annum is by no means a small sum to pay for the mass of the poor people of these Provinces. The bulk of rates is derived from Octroi, and indirect impost which at once causes vexation, restricts trade and is somewhat demoralising as it affords much scope for corruption. The sugar industry of the Province is already very unfavorably situated, and while the recent enhancement of water rate on sugar-cane cultivation does not exactly act as an inducement for extended cultivation of that crop, it is stated that, 'at Fyzabad the levy of Octroi, which is indefensible, will shortly be replaced by a tax on the refining industry.'

Such are the experiences to which needy Municipal Boards are being driven. In several towns new taxes were imposed in the year 1904-05, a year during which in several places consumption of even grain was low on account of plague, as is stated in the Government resolution on Municipal administration. The Government says in that resolution that 'there is a very general demand for the extension of water-works and supply in the larger places, and much more money could be profitably spent if more were available.' Funds are surely needed in many places for expenditure on drainage and sewerage works also, but evidently they are not forthcoming. 'A large number of towns' says

the Government resolution from which I am quoting, 'have schemes under consideration or ready to be put in hand, but in most cases funds are not immediately available. In four places the work of drainage which is going on is part only of complete schemes which at present have to be carried out piecemeal owing to the amount of money involved. In Benares, for example, estimates amounting to 20 lakhs have been approved by the Government, while Lucknow and Allahabad are drawing up schemes which will probably cost not less than 20 lakhs and 6 lakhs respectively. Fyzabad is as yet unable to round off its projects to completion but the anticipated cost is large.'

The Government says in its resolution :—Upon the satisfactory large diminution in plague charges Allahabad has most reason to congratulate itself, as its expenditure was reduced by over Rs. 32,000; But Benares, Cawnpore and Mirzapur were also called upon to spend much less than in the previous year. It is possible to take another view of these reductions that in plague expenditure, as they were due not to an abatement of the epidemic but what I venture to call ill-judged economy. Government is pleased to recognize the expanding interest of the people in education but what avails it, if the provision of funds continues to be so meagre as it is at present. The extreme poverty of the progress made is illustrated by the smallness of in-

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crease in the number of primary schools, viz. from 374 to 454.

Take again the unsatisfactory character of public health, and the need for a large expenditure on sanitation. The fall in the number of recorded death is hailed by the Government as a 'very satisfactory' improvement, but the provincial death rate is still exceedingly high at 46·51 per mille, while in four places the death rate was above 70 per mille, and in four, above 60. The general health is pronounced unsatisfactory and bad in so many as 17 municipalities, the death rate in many of which was appallingly high.

The Government says of the finances of Agra Municipality :—

'The expansion of the city necessitates the execution of a number of works for which the existing resources are clearly inadequate. But the growing demand for water, calls for further costly extension to the works at an early date; the city drainage must be enlarged; improvement is needed for the northern suburbs; a conservancy tramway is urgently needed; and the construction of a free ganj is under consideration, to name a few urgent works only. It would appear that the Board's normal income is insufficient even to cover its expenditure, if the latter is to be worthy of the town, and to meet the new outlay, more money is certainly required.'

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The income from local taxation is already high, as the Government admits, being Rs. 2-1-9 per head; that is much above the provincial average. To levy fresh taxation is therefore out of the question. If the many useful works mentioned are to be carried out help must come from the Provincial Treasury. Of Allahabad, I can say nearly as much as Government says of the urgent needs of the Agra municipality, but its financial condition hardly admits of more expenditure even on its primary requirements. Of another first class city, Benares, where the mortality was 67·99 per mille the Government says :—

‘The situation is still unsatisfactory; even with a curtailment of the expenditure on urgent public works, the Board was unable to avoid a deficit, which, if abnormal figures be excluded, would work out at about Rs. 25,000. Should it be found impossible to revive the pilgrim tax in a modified form, the Board will have to devise some other means of increasing its income without delay, for drainage, water-works and conservancy all need money.’

I hope the pilgrim tax will not be revived in any form; help ought to come from the Government. Of Lucknow, it is said, ‘it is difficult to see how the drainage is to be completed with the Board’s present resources.’

In summing up, the Government says that ‘for

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drainage, improvement of wells, and other water-supply, pavement of lanes, conservancy and general extension of sanitary supervision, more money is needed. The Government has made grants to the limit of its capacity and has brought the necessity of further help to the notice of the Government of India. The important towns of Agra and Benares, to name no others, are in need of large sums for the most pressing projects, of the execution of which there is for the want of these funds no immediate prospect.'

I do not quarrel with the statement that this Government has reached the limit of its capacity in making grants to the Municipal Boards, and I thank the Government for its action in bringing the necessity of further help to the notice of the Government of India. What I lay stress on is the immediate necessity of such further help. As I have already pointed out, Government grants during the year 1904-05, the latest year for which figures are available, did not come to more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total receipts of the municipalities, and this is a very small fraction indeed. Government having recognized the principle of making such contributions, I very much wish that it would go much further than it has yet done in this direction. This is done in European countries, and the needs of the situation in India, and in these Provinces in particular, more imperatively demand it. As

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Professor Nicholson, one of the greatest living authorities on the subject, has pointed out in one of his recent books, for the last sixty years every Government in England, Liberal and Conservative, has admitted the necessity of Imperial contributions to Local Bodies. Professor Bastable also observes that 'among the chief changes in the system of local finance in England since 1870 has been the automatic growth of the share of tax revenue assigned to local purposes.'

In 1842-43, in England and Wales, 98 per cent of the money needed for local purposes was raised locally, only 2 per cent was granted by Parliament. By 1891-92, that is, in fifty years, the proportions had changed to 79 per cent. raised by rates to 21 per cent. granted by Parliament. And of the local expenditure of England and Wales for the year 1902-03, only 39 per cent. was raised by rate, while a sum equal to one-fourth of the rates, was contributed by the State from Imperial taxation, the rest being met by tolls and dues, &c.

The above survey of the situation in England in respect of local finance shows clearly the wisdom and necessity for largely supplementing the income from rates by subventions from the Government. This, as I have said before, may be done in one of two ways—by grants-in-aid or by assignment of the proceeds of some Imperial taxation, like the excise or the in-come tax

for local purposes. What is important is that the broad principle on which aid ought to be given to local authorities should be recognized, namely, 'that it is the central Government that is really responsible for certain services, although for administrative reasons it entrusts the carrying out of them to the local authorities, and that therefore these authorities are, so to speak, merely agents for the central authorities, and should, as such receive the necessary cost from the national funds'. I venture to think that having regard to all the circumstances of the situation it will be generally agreed that whatever reforms may be effected in local taxation, a great deal more of assistance and relief must be afforded to local bodies from the Imperial Exchequer. This is true of even rich England; it is still more true of India and of these Provinces.

There is one act of financial justice, and of pressing necessity which it is my duty to urge on the Government. I submit that District and Municipal Boards cannot be justly called upon and should not be saddled with the plague expenditure, which is more properly a charge on the Government revenues, as plague is no longer a local calamity, but is spread over the entire length and breadth of the provinces. 'As a general principle of equity,' says Professor Nicholson, 'national charges must be met from national funds, just as local benefits should be met from local funds.' Plague is a

national charge and not a local one, and the all too slender resources of Local Bodies should not be taxed with the expenditure incurred on what has long since become a national, an imperial affair.

In concluding its review of Municipal Administration in these Provinces in the year 1904-05 the Government was pleased to bear generous testimony to the excellence of the work done by the Municipal Boards. 'On the whole, it may be said,' wrote the Government, 'that municipal boards have justified the trust reposed in them; that their administration is guided by an increasing sense of responsibility and that their services have merited the approval of the Government and the citizens. The Lieutenant Governor is glad to have the opportunity of expressing his gratification at the hopeful prospect which lies before municipal self-government in this province.' I submit that there is not a better way of practically recognizing the success which has attended the work of Municipal Boards than by placing adequate resources at their disposal, so that they may render more useful public service and deserve even better of the Government as well as the people.

It is clear from all that has been said before that these Province stand sorely in need of more sanitation and more medical relief, and it is equally clear that there can be no hope for progress in either of these

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directions, unless and until the resources of Municipal and District boards are largely augmented.

Of all the questions that affect the people of these Provinces there is none which demands more earnest and more immediate attention than plague. This fell disease has been working its ravages among us for seven years now. The loss of life which it has inflicted during this period is simply appalling ; the misery caused by it, is indescribable. So many as 383,802 died of plague in 1905-06. I cannot say what the death roll the current year will be, but judging from the figures which the Gazette has been recording week after week, the total for this year also will be very high. In the midst of the sorrow which these figures represent, it is pertinent to ask what measures the Government has been taking to check the ravages of this disease, or to help the people to fight against it. It cannot be disputed that it is the duty of the Government to put forth its best resources to arrest the progress of this enemy and to protect the people, as far as possible from being devoured by it. But there is a feeling spreading among the people that the Government is not doing its duty fully in this matter ; that it is in fact doing even less now than it did in the earlier years. There is certainly need for much greater activity and expenditure.

The sad and bitter experience of several years has

taught the people to believe that running away from an infected area at the earliest opportunity is the surest means of escape from plague. The first need of the situation, therefore, is to give them all the help that the State can give to enable them to profit by this experience. And this can be best done by the establishment of health camps in every infected city and district, outside the limit of the infected areas, like those that are established year after year in Allahabad. The Government was pleased to recognise the usefulness of such health camps three years ago, and issued a resolution to encourage the establishment of such camps. But the orders were rendered infructuous, because the Government laid down that the people who were to live in such camps should make their own arrangements for watch and ward. If the Government will be pleased to issue fresh instructions to Municipal and District Boards to establish such health camps and to provide them with light and water; and if it will issue orders that the district authorities should provide the necessary police protection for them, tens of thousands of people will seek shelter in them and thank the Government for saving them from falling into the jaws of death.

The next thing needed is to adopt measures for improving the sanitary conditions under which the people live, so as to afford them permanent protec-

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tion from plague. Three years ago it was stated that the Government of these Provinces had adopted the policy of regarding sanitation as the main line of defence. But we have seen how, mainly owing to want of funds, little has been done in the way of improving sanitation. What the situation demands is that a comprehensive and well-considered policy of sanitation should be adopted and worked out systematically and with vigour. A few model villages should be built in every municipality on approved sanitary plans, and leases of public land should be given on easy terms to private individuals to encourage them to build houses on approved plans outside the crowded parts of the city. I am deeply thankful to say that Government has been pleased to grant leases for eighty new houses which will form such a model village as I have suggested, at Allahabad. What is needed is that the policy which has been so well begun at Lukerganj at Allahabad should be carried out in other parts of that city and in other cities, towns and villages of the United Provinces.

It is also necessary that both in towns and villages, congested areas should be opened up, insanitary dwellings improved or pulled down, narrow lanes widened and paved, and the system of drainage improved all over the Provinces.

The proposals I have put forward are, by the

necessity of the case, large, and some of them drastic. But they are neither impracticable nor extravagant. To promote public health and sanitation, similar measures have had to be adopted in England.

The functions of local administrations with respect to the dwellings of the poor are set forth in many Acts of Parliament. Power to build new lodging houses for the labouring classes, or to buy such as already exist, is given by a series of Acts. Municipal corporations are permitted with the sanction of the Treasury to grant long leases of corporate land whereon to build working men's dwellings. The Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act, 1875, provides for the compulsory purchase and clearance of unhealthy areas and towns and for making improvements thereon. The necessary powers are vested in the urban sanitary authorities.

Our own Municipal Boards can exercise some similar powers. But they need both direction and funds from the Government to do so; and these ought to be given both ungrudgingly and without delay.

The suggestions made above all involve a large outlay in expenditure. But the taxes paid by the people place ample revenues in the hands of the Government to meet it. A great deal of our backwardness and consequent misery is due to the fact that the Government of India appropriate too large a proportion of these

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revenues for what may be called Imperial purposes, and leave too small a portion of them for expenditure within the Provinces on purposes which affect the most vital interests of the people. I do not wish to go into figures here. Several of us have gone into them in the last few years, and have shown that while these Provinces contribute the largest amount of revenues, larger than that of rich Bengal, and larger still than that of Bombay,—the percentage of our revenues allotted to us for all domestic progress and reform is smaller than that allowed to any other province of India. The present provincial settlement is both arbitrary and unjust. It does not seem to take note either of our contributions or our needs.

I have dwelt at great length on some of the crying wants of these Provinces in order to show how badly we stand in need of a much larger provincial assignment. As the Provincial Government has to provide for all the many direct requirements of the people it would be but fair to leave three-fourths of the revenues to be spent within the Provinces, and to take only one-fourth for Imperial purposes. But if that cannot be done at once, we should certainly be allowed to keep half of our revenues for expenditure within the province. As the entire possibility of ameliorating the condition of our people, of promoting their prosperity, depends upon the amount of revenues

which the Government of India will allot to us for provincial purposes, we shall be looking most anxiously forward to the promised revision of settlement, when I hope that in the interests of the vast mass of human beings who inhabit these Provinces, the Government of India will make an assignment for our Provinces which will enable us to advance in education, civilization and prosperity as the subjects of an enlightened Government should.

Before I conclude, I wish briefly to refer to a few other matters which call for attention. There is a widespread complaint that the claims of Indians to a fair share of the public services of their country do not yet receive that fair recognition which they have every right to expect. Indian lawyers have filled the highest offices in the Judicial Service with conspicuous ability, and it is time that at least two seats were reserved for them on the Bench of the High Court, and one in the Judicial Commissioner's Court in these Provinces. I hope that the Government will take their claims into consideration when the next vacancies occur in either of these Courts. The claims of the Subordinate Judicial Service also require attention. Nearly eighteen years have elapsed since the Government of these Provinces acting under the orders of the Secretary of State, declared that four District Judgeships would be reserved for members of the Provincial Service Not

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one of these posts has yet been given permanently to any member of the Provincial Service. When the members of the Statutory Civil Service declined the invitation to join the Provincial service, as they were perfectly justified in doing, their existence cannot justly be pleaded as an excuse for shutting the members of the Provincial Service out of the posts which were reserved for them. They have in this a very just grievance, and I hope that Your Honour will be pleased to remove it, and to do justice to the claims of a deserving body of public servants. There is also a long-standing complaint that the Subordinate Judicial Service is undermanned and overworked. The staff of the service should be strengthened and their salaries put on the same level as in Bengal. A re-distribution of the territorial jurisdiction of the courts, is also urgently called for both in the interests of the service and the public.

The complaint which was voiced three years ago both in this Council and in the Viceroy's Council that the claims of Indians are not fairly treated even in filling up ministerial appointments in public offices, continues unremedied. I invite Your Honour's attention to it. If Your Honour will be pleased to call for a return you will, I venture to think, be satisfied that the complaint is well founded, and that it is necessary to lay down rules to ensure justice being done

to the claims of all classes of His Majesty's subjects alike.

The Court of Wards is a beneficial institution. But it has become very grasping in its jurisdiction in these Provinces. There were 198 estates under its charge last year. Probably in no other province are owners of estates so easily declared to be incompetent to manage their affairs as in these Provinces. In some cases estates have been taken under the charge of the Court of Wards against the will, though ostensibly, on the application of the owner, on grounds which will not bear examination. I may mention the Bijaigarh estate in the Mirzapur district as an instance. I have neither the time nor the inclination to go into the history of the case here. If Your Honour will be pleased to look into the facts connected with it, you will, I venture to think, be satisfied that there is need for greater caution in sanctioning the taking up of estates under the Court of Wards.

The people of Kumaun have long been anxious that their Division should cease to be a non-regulation tract, and be brought under the regular jurisdiction of the High Court in civil matters, as it is at present in criminal matters. Their prayer seems to be a perfectly reasonable one, and I commend it to the consideration of the Government. They have also a grievance in the rigorous enforcement of the Forest rules, which trench

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without any justification upon the rights which they have enjoyed from time immemorial.

It is a matter of much regret that the system of *begar* still prevails in these Provinces. Obnoxious everywhere, it presses with special severity upon the people of Kumaun. *Begar* is a blot upon British administration and ought to be abolished without delay. I venture to hope that when the Council next meets, I shall have the honour of congratulating the Government on having put an end to a system which can neither be defended nor justified.

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The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made the following speech at a meeting of the Allahabad Legislative Council held in April 1908, under the Presidentship of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor Sir John Prescott Hewett, K.C.S.I., C.I.F.

YOUR HONOUR,—It is high time that the present system of inviting non-official members of the Council to discuss the Financial Statement, when it has been finally settled by the Government, were altered. If the opinion of such members is to have any influence in determining the purposes to which the revenues of the Provinces should be devoted, it is obviously necessary that they should be consulted when the Budget is in course of preparation, as, I understand is done in Madras and Bombay. Under the present system, a discussion, like what we are engaged in to-day must be more or less of an academic character. The consciousness that whatever remarks or suggestions might be offered, the dispositions made in the Budget will remain unaltered, takes away very much from the heartiness of the discussion. I earnestly hope that the practice will soon be changed for the better.

There are two aspects of the statement which we

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have to deal with to-day. The first is that which concerns the financial; arrangements for the current year the second that which explains the financial position which these Provinces are to occupy under the terms of the proposed *quasi* permanent settlement which we are informed is awaiting the orders of the Secretary of State for India. The first is clearly dominated by famine. The failure of the monsoon has, as has been sadly observed by the Honourable the Financial Secretary, reduced us to bankruptcy. And yet this need not have been so, if we had a command, in a fair-measure, over the resources—the revenue contributions—of our Provinces. As matters stand, the statement shows that the Provincial Government would not have been able to meet its many obligations, particularly to discharge its solemn duty of mitigating the horrors of the famine, and of protecting the people from dying from starvation, if the Government of India had not generously come to its rescue. For the assistance so liberally given we are much indebted to the Government of India. It is their help that has enabled Your Honour's Government to administer so much substantial relief to the people. The character and extent of the measures of relief adopted by the Government have been described in detail by the Hon'ble Mr. Porter. For the liberality and promptitude with which relief has been administered or afforded, the people, I

believe, feel truly thankful to your Honour and to Your Honour's Government. The remission and suspension of revenue, the *takavi* advances, the relief works, the distribution of gratuitous relief, the grain allowances, and the poor houses have all contributed to mitigate the sufferings of the people.

In connection with the management of the poor-houses, I would beg leave to suggest that the attention of the officers in charge of poor-houses may be drawn to the humane provisions of the Famine Code regarding the protection of orphans. The Code has laid down that the Collector shall be the guardian of all the children found deserted in his district during a famine, and that he shall not surrender them, except to their natural protectors or, failing these, to respectable persons of the same religion. It requires that separate accommodation shall be provided for orphans at each sub-divisional and district head-quarters, though it may be near the poor-house and under the same control and supervision; and that boys of ten years of age shall be kept apart from other orphans. These and other provisions of the Code provide not only for the protection of the orphans from starvation, but also for their protection from being converted, before they have attained the age of discretion, into any faith different from that of their parents. The officers' charge of poor-houses deserves thanks for the hard and noble work in which they are engaged.

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But I fear that, in some cases at least, their attention has not been drawn to the detailed provisions of the Code for the care and custody of orphans. If it is, I have every hope that they will enhance the value of their good work by seeing that orphans are not merely saved from starvation, but that their religion also is protected. The relief against hunger and starvation is a very real relief, but its worth is greatly discounted when a poor little child, to whom it is given, is, in his ignorance and helplessness, made to change the faith of his forefathers. The Government has provided against this in the Famine Code, and all that is necessary is that attention should be drawn to its provisions and that they should be fully carried out.

But while the relief administered in the various ways referred to above has been very considerable and very valuable, the total number of persons relieved is still small, compared with the vast body of the people who have not been touched either by State or by private charitable relief, and who are undergoing great hardship owing to the effects of the extra-ordinary high prices of the necessities of life. The extent of the suffering caused by a widespread famine can only be imagined; it cannot be measured. And yet such famines are now unfortunately becoming too frequent. There is a large body of opinion which holds that the condition of the people is growing weaker and weaker,

and that their power of resisting the effects of even one of season's scarcity is diminishing. There are high officials of Government on the other side who assert that there is a far greater resisting power in the people than there was twelve years ago; but when they themselves say that this resisting power would not have been what they think it is, without the early and liberal aid which has been given by the Government to the people, there is not much of that power left to be ascribed to improvement in the condition of the people. The very extensive scale on which suspensions and remissions of revenue and advances for *takavi* have to be made and relief to be distributed, afford a melancholy evidence that the condition of the people is deplorably weak. It is now twenty years since Lord Dufferin ordered, an inquiry into the condition of the labouring and agricultural classes in these Provinces. It is extremely desirable that Government should order another similar inquiry now. The Famine Union of London, which has among its members some of the most distinguished retired Anglo-Indian officials, as also some very distinguished Englishmen, has pressed for such an inquiry in typical villages. The Government of India has recently said that it does not shrink from an inquiry into its famine policy, but it must be satisfied that definite practical advantage will result before it

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agrees that such an inquiry is advisable. One would have thought that the deplorably high mortality which prevails in India and which cannot be a matter for congratulation to British Indian administration, would be a sufficient ground to order such an inquiry. The condition of the people cannot be called prosperous, and it cannot be said that there is not a crying need for improving it. If so, it is of the first importance that the truth about the economic condition of the people should be ascertained in order that the Government and the public may be in a position to judge what steps should be taken to improve it. But whether such an inquiry is ordered in the near future or delayed, I beg to repeat what I have said more than once before, that to ameliorate and improve the condition of the people the first need of the situation is that the burden on the land should be reduced. There is large body of enlightened public opinion in India which agrees with Mr. O'Connor, late Director-General of Statistics in India, in holding that though the many other efforts which the State is making, or might make, to provide increased irrigation, to provide advances for improvements, &c., are valuable, the reduction of the land revenue by 25 or 30 per cent., if the reduction is secured to the benefit of the cultivator, would be of far more value in the improvement of the class who constitute the bulk of the population and who

contribute most largely to the finances of the State, and I can only express the earnest hope that the Government will sooner or later—and I hope it will be sooner rather than later—realize the soundness of this view, and lay the foundation for the prosperity of the people by making a reasonable reduction in the land revenue demand. Towards the same end is needed a permanent settlement of the land revenue demand accompanied by the guarantee of a fixity of tenure for the tenants. The advantages and necessity of such settlement were recognised after the famine of 1861. After years of discussion, in which the advantages and disadvantage of such a course were fully weighed, the Secretary of State for India decided in favour of introducing the measure. In 1868 Sir William Muir, the then Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces, issued instructions to Settlement Officers to carry it out wherever a new settlement was to be made. But unfortunately for the people the policy was changed later on, evidently for no other reason than that the Government was not prepared to give up the loss of prospective revenue involved in it, though it had been admitted in previous discussions that such a loss would be more than made up in other ways. The decision cannot be too deeply regretted. There is a widespread belief in this country that much of the poverty and unprosperousness of the

bulk of the people is due to the fact that the State does not leave a fair portion of the fruits of his industry to the tiller of the soil. There is a widespread belief that if a permanent settlement is made on a moderated assessment of the land revenue it would contribute more than anything else to augment the wealth of the agriculturist. It would probably not be necessary for the State then to run to his rescue with advances to enable him to make wells and to purchase seed and cattle, on the failure of a single monsoon. The entire aspect of the situation will be changed. The proposal is not perhaps regarded at present with favour, but it will have to be considered and carried out if the people are to be made prosperous and contented. There is nothing more urgently needed as a direct preventive of famine than irrigation. The Famine Commission of 1878 pointed this out thirty years ago. But it is a matter for deep regret that the Government have not done what they could have done to provide sufficient means of irrigation to the people. In spite of the clear recommendation of the Famine Commission, they have spent seven times as much on railways as on irrigation. In the interests of humanity it is to be earnestly hoped that the Government will devote its attention and its resources in a sufficient measure to promote the means of irrigation. More canals should undoubtedly be made wherever they can be made with advantage. But the

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necessity for encouraging the construction of more wells and tanks should also be fully recognised. The Indian Famine Commission of 1901 said in their report that their inquiries had demonstrated that there is a field for the construction of wells, tanks and other artificial means of irrigation to which it would be difficult to assign a limit. What is necessary is that the Government should not wait till a famine comes to make large advances to tenants of *takavi* for making wells, but should make a systematic and continuous effort to see that before another calamity like this overtakes the country every part of the Province which requires wells is fully protected by them.

Grain stores and co-operative grain banks will be great palliatives of the rigours of a famine, and it is very desirable that people should be encouraged to start them. The need for agricultural banks is also very great and pressing. I am glad to notice that there is provision in the budget for appointing an Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies. I hope that the efforts of the Registrar and his department will be directed towards encouraging and helping agriculturists to start co-operative grain stores. If agricultural banks are started at suitable centres they will be of great help to agriculturists in various ways. More earnest efforts are needed in this direction than have been made in the past. I would here draw the atten-

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tion of the Government to the high cattle mortality which is inflicting a loss upon the agriculturist from which it will take him a long time to recover. Agricultural cattle, worth Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 a head, have been sold in thousands for Re. 1-8-0 and Rs. 2. I am aware that the Government have opened their forests for grazing cattle. But the people find it difficult to put them there. I am also aware that the Government is supplying hay at different places on moderate rates. But what are the people to do if they have not the means of buying it? The problem is only another aspect of the extremely weak economic condition of the people. I draw the attention of the Government to it in the hope that it will consider what remedial measures may be adopted to save the people from this heavy loss.

There is only one other aspect of the famine to which I wish to invite attention. As the Government is aware the prices of the necessities of life range much higher now than they did in the famine of 1897. Besides this, the rates which prevail now in normal seasons are those which were regarded as famine rates some years ago. This subjects the vast mass of the people to indescribable hardship. It is desirable that in view of this rise in prices the Government should be pleased to revise the scale of salaries of its servants in the subordinate grades, and particularly of its low-paid

servants. The high salaries paid to the higher officials of Government and the low salaries paid to its subordinate servants contrast very unsatisfactorily with each other. But the new factor introduced by this rise in prices makes the situation worse and demands that the salaries of the subordinate servants should be revised. There is precedent for this in the exchange compensation allowance granted to the highly-paid servants of Government to recoup them the loss caused by the fall in the value of silver. The men who serve the Government on much smaller salaries stand in much greater need of such a compensation, and I hope that the Government will be pleased to consider the desirability of granting them relief by suitable increases in their salaries. The next matter which demands consideration is public health and sanitation. We have lost over eleven lakhs of people from plague alone in the six years which ended in December 1907. In the five years which ended in 1906 we lost $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of people by cholera and more than 62 lakhs by the all embracing death-cause fever. Four years ago the Government declared that it had adopted the policy of treating sanitation as the main line of defence against plague, and yet notwithstanding the appalling loss of life we have sustained, the total expenditure on sanitation in these Provinces during the last five years did not amount to more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs; no one can say that the

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sanitary needs of the Provinces have received the attention they deserved. I fully appreciate the special measures which have been taken this year to combat plague. The advantages of inoculation have been made widely known among the people and should be made as much more widely known as possible. But it must at the same time be remembered that the people at large will not, for some time yet, resort freely to inoculation, and sufficient provision should be made for health-camps in every district, to encourage and enable people to protect themselves by evacuating infected areas. Over and above this, steps should be taken to afford permanent protection to people from plague and other epidemics. Four years ago, speaking in this very Council, I urged that every Municipality should be encouraged and helped to build a number of houses outside the crowded parts of the city on approved sanitary plans, each apart from the other, but forming small mohallas or model villages, to which the people of an infected area might remove during the time of plague. I also urged that private individuals should be encouraged to build houses on approved plans outside the city. The suggestion was carried out partly in Allahabad. But a great deal remains to be done there and elsewhere. And it is to be hoped that a systematic effort will be begun in this direction this year. The

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special grant of five lakhs which the Government of India have made for sanitation cannot be devoted to a better purpose. But the grant is utterly insufficient to enable the Government to meet the sanitary needs of the Provinces. How vast these needs are it is not necessary for me to say. All but a few of our towns required an improved system of water-supply; an efficient system of drainage, extensive improvement in the dwelling, not only of the poor but also of the great body of the middle class people. Many of them require an opening up of congested areas, and the creation of open spaces for recreation, &c. I beg to suggest that Your Honour may be pleased to order a sanitary survey of the whole Provinces, urban and rural. Such a survey should comprise questions of water-supply, drainage and housing, should show what measures are required in each town and district; their capital cost and maintenance charges, the capacity of the District and Municipal Boards to bear the same and the assistance they would require from the Government to carry them out. As an industrial survey is helpful in showing how the industries of the province can be best developed, so a sanitary survey would show how the sanitation of the province may be systematically worked out. I hope the suggestion will commend itself to your Honour.

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I am thankful for the assistance which has been given to Municipal and District Boards. I am also glad that the local accounts have been separated from the provincial accounts and that District Boards will have the same financial freedom in the matter of their accounts as Municipal Boards enjoy. But the whole problem of municipal and local finance requires to be thoroughly investigated, and to be placed on a sound footing. It is clear that Municipal and District Boards cannot, without liberal help from the Government carry out the many measures of sanitary reform which are urgently called for in the interests of public health all over the Provinces. That help might be given by making over the annual proceeds of any particular tax raised within its area to a Municipal or District Board, or by an annual subvention from provincial funds. But it is essential that the help should be both definitely fixed and liberal. For the sanitation of villages, village *panchayats* should be created. If properly constituted and sufficiently encouraged with funds, these *panchayats* will prove most useful, both in creating a public opinion among the inhabitants of their villages in favour of sanitation, and in carrying it out in the most economical manner.

The needs of these Provinces in the matter of education must claim consideration. Your Honour's Government deserve the thanks of the public for having

decided to carry out the scheme of Technical and Industrial Education which was recommended by the Industrial Conference which met at Naini Tal, and the Government of India also are entitled to our thanks for having helped this Government with funds even in this year of famine, to enable it to make a beginning however small in giving effect to the scheme. It is pleasing to note that Rs. 3,33,000 has been provided in the budget for technical and industrial education, partly under the heading of education and partly under civil works; and that Rs. 1,49,000 is set apart for introducing the teaching of science and manual training in schools. It is necessary, however, to point out that the whole provision for technical and scientific education which the Government had decided to make, is only satisfactory as the first instalment of reforms. To provide the full measure of technical and scientific instruction and industrial training which are necessary to qualify our people to make satisfactory progress in manufacturing and industrial pursuits, a widespread system of technical and industrial education such as obtains in Japan is necessary, and I hope that the Government will steadily endeavour to build up a similar system here.

The provisions for the teaching of science in Secondary Schools is highly commendable, and so is the desire of the Government to generally improve the

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quality of secondary education. But it is to be hoped that this improvement will not be brought about at the expense of any of the existing schools. These Provinces are more backward in English education than perhaps any other large province of India. It is desirable that the number of secondary English Schools should be increased rather than reduced. These schools are like little lamps which light up humble huts. It will be a great wrong to extinguish them, or to let them die of inanition, in order that a few large lamps may be hung up in select centres. Where the family is a large one, and the means for buying food are scanty, we must content ourselves with coarse food, so that all may share it and live, rather than spend it in such a way that a few should be well fed and the rest should starve and die. To bring about the desired improvement in the quality of secondary education, without cutting it down in extent, all that is necessary is that the Government should fully recognise its duty in the matter of such education, and make a substantial increase in its grants to strengthen existing aided English Secondary Schools, and to encourage the establishment of new ones.

But it is of even greater importance to extend general primary education and it is extremely disappointing to find no mention of the proposal of the Government of India to make primary education free

throughout the country, either in the financial statement made in the Viceroy's Council or in the statement laid before this Council. In the letter which the Government of India addressed to Local Governments more than a year ago, they practically promised to make primary education free. It is much to be hoped that the proposal will not be abandoned. If it is, it will cause the widest disappointment and place the Government in a most unenviable position. That is a measure urgently called for in the best interests of the people. The Government have repeatedly said that they wish to promote agricultural, technical and industrial education. They have in clear words recognised that all such education must be based upon a fair degree of general education. Every civilised Government has made primary education both free and compulsory. It is so in England, America, France, Germany, Switzerland Japan and in Baroda in our own country. The Government of India and the Local Government have year after year professed great solicitude to promote primary education. They have provided for the education of backward classes and of even aborigines. In the letter of the Government of India it was said that if the Government of India had never stated in so many words that it was their aim to provide universal primary education, all their declarations had tended in that direction. But, as a matter

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of fact, as Sir Frederic Lely has said in his book on the Better Governing of India, the Government is committed to universal education. It was hitherto thought that it was the question of funds alone which stood in the way of primary education being made free. But when the Government of India said in their letter that the finances of the country would permit of the measure being carried out, the abandonment or postponement of the measure will be in every way deplorable. It will be difficult thereafter for the public to believe that the Government desires in real earnest to promote their well-being and prosperity by extending the benefits of education among them, and the public cannot be entirely to blame if they begin to doubt the sincerity of the professions of Government in favour of education, when they find that while the Government is spending over one crore of rupees a year on the police, it cannot find more than 43½ lakhs on education. This is not an aspect of the financial administration of these Provinces upon which either the Government or the public can be congratulated.

Now, sir, it is hardly necessary to say that the Government of this country is really in the hands of the Indian Civil Service. That service is said to be the finest Civil Service in the world. The members of the service are an educated class. They owe their position and power, above all things, to education and so one

might well expect that they would be the best friends of education, and that they would use every means within their power to promote it. But it is a great disappointment to find that, under their administration, education receives so small a share of the public funds as it does.

This state of things would soon be remedied, and a sufficient portion of the taxes raised from the people would be devoted to the cause of education, if the conviction was constantly present to their mind, as a problem is to a mathematician, or as remorse is to a guilty mind, that to quote the words of the educational despatch of 1854, 'it is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of knowledge.' It is devoutly to be hoped that the cause of education will receive in future a much greater measure of active and earnest support from all the highly educated gentlemen who are connected with the administration of this country, than it has received in the past. It is only then that the progress of education will be fully assured.

I am fully aware that large funds are needed to secure the benefits of education to the mass of the people. And this brings me to a consideration of the terms of the proposed provincial settlement. I acknow-

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ledge with gratitude the improvement that has been effected in the financial position of our Provinces. But the terms proposed for the *vasi* Q permanent settlement which is awaiting the sanction of the Secretary of State are not at all adequate to meet the requirements of these Provinces; and it is our duty to urge, while there is yet time, upon the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India the claims of these Provinces to a better consideration than they are to receive under the terms of the proposed settlement. The Honourable the Financial Secretary has described the results of the proposed settlement in the following words:—"They are not, it seems to His Honour, in any way more generous than the needs of the Provinces demand. The bulk of the increase in provincial revenue was in fact to be set off against a corresponding transfer of expenditure from the Imperial to the Provincial account; the rest was ear-marked for reforms which have already been approved and on which expenditure is inevitable, while for any new schemes of expenditure, and especially for the expansion of the service of the Public Works Department, we should have to depend on the natural growth of the provincial income."

The honourable gentleman sums up the situation in the following words:—

'The result of conditions such as these is really to

destroy the reality of provincial finance, and to make us almoners of the Government of India.' 'If the seasons are favourable we shall be able to restore our normal balances and have a small sum available over and above our ordinary requirements.' The unsatisfactory character of the proposed settlement could not be more eloquently described than has been done in the words quoted above. It is clear that we shall still have to live from hand to mouth. There will be no possibility of any progress worth the name in education, in sanitation and in everything else that most vitally concerns the people. I do not wish to go into the details of the settlement here. I earnestly hope that the Government of India and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State will be pleased to take into consideration both the contributions and the needs of these Provinces, and assign to us a larger measure of the revenues of these Provinces than has been proposed. Of all the provinces of India these Provinces contribute the largest amount of land revenue, *i.e.* 6,16,50,000; while Madras contributes 5,46,97,000; Bombay, 4,87,32,000 and Bengal, only 2,89,05,000.

The Government propose to allow us only three-eighths of the large revenue contributed by us and to throw the burden of the whole expenditure connected therewith upon us. I submit that the interests of the

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Provinces require that they should allow us at least a half of the land revenue and divide the expenditure in the same proportion. This is the very least that they should allow us in fairness. If this is done the Provinces will have a decent sum to spend on education, for which alone, according to our late Director of Public Instruction, we require quite a crore of rupees more every year. For sanitation too we require fully 50 lakhs a year. It has been the misfortune of these Provinces that for many decades past, smaller sums have been allotted to us for provincial expenditure than were necessary to meet our requirements, and that the Government of India have been much less liberal towards us than to the other provinces. Not only has a smaller percentage of our revenues been assigned to us than to those provinces, but even in the matter of the special grants made to various provinces, less has been given to us than to them. For instance, while to start the new settlement under favourable conditions 50 lakhs each has been given to Bombay, Madras, Bengal and even to the Punjab, only 30 lakhs was given to us. Out of the grant of 40 lakhs for education while 10 lakhs was given to Bengal, 8 lakhs to Madras, 6 to Bombay, only 5 lakhs was given to these Provinces, and so on in other matters. The result has been that we have been spending much less on the most useful objects than the more favoured provinces. Thus

while Bombay is spending Rs. 252 per thousand on education, Burma 209 per thousand, and even the Central Provinces Rs. 139 per thousand, the United Provinces are spending only Rs. 91 per thousand. On medical relief, with a population of forty-seven millions, we are spending 18·65 lakhs per annum only ; when Madras, with a population smaller by eight millions is spending 34·67 lakhs, Bombay with a population of only 19 millions in spending 25·15 lakhs, and Bengal 25·70 lakhs a year. We must, therefore, earnestly appeal to the Government of India and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for a fairer treatment, for a more liberal allotment to us, in the future. In view of the fact that we have been contributing for decades past so much more than the richer provinces of Bombay and Bengal and, receiving so much less, I hope we will not be regarded as unreasonable if we ask that we should be put even now on the same footing with Bombay. It is high time that the Government of the second largest province in the Empire, wielding the destiny of a population larger than that of the United Kingdom, were put in a position to be able to discharge satisfactorily the many obligations that rest upon it in the matter of domestic progress and reform. When the funds at the disposal of the Government of these Provinces are so limited it is obviously necessary that they should be spent most

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economically, and distributed fairly on the various objects of public utility with due regard to their comparative importance. I must regret to find that out of the total sum of about five crores allotted to us nearly one crore is spent by our Government on the police, and only less than half a crore on education. It would have been more in the fitness of things if education received at least twice as much as the police. I regret also to note that considering how pressed we are for funds for education and sanitation, Rs. 22,000 has been provided in the budget before us for the luxury of motor cars, Rs. 13,000 for more furniture at Government House, Rs. 18,000 for the Havelock Road, which, I understand, will embellish the approaches to the Government House at Lucknow, and Rs. 40,000 for a meat market at Naini Tal. These sums would have been far better spent if they were devoted to promote sanitary improvements around the dwellings of the poor, or to provide for female education, for which the Government has not been able to find the small sum of even three lakhs a year during the last three years. I note that Rs. 67,000 has been taken this year out of the six lakhs grant for primary education to make up one lakh for female education. The sums noted above might well have added to that amount nor is it a matter of greater satisfaction to find that five more public works divisions have been created and five more

Engineers placed in charge of them. What the Provinces stand in need of is that whatever sums the Government can find or spare, should be devoted to establish more schools and to improve the sanitation of towns and villages, and not absorbed in a larger measure than now by the increased staff of the Public Works Department. Besides, if it is really necessary that more Engineers should be appointed, it is desirable that Indians should be appointed, and not Europeans. That will make for economy, without any sacrifice of efficiency. I was very sorry to learn in answer to a question that I put at the last meeting of the Council, that all the five Engineers who have recently been appointed are Europeans. The answer showed that there were a large number of qualified Indian Engineers who had applied for the posts, but not one of them had been selected. It is a sin in the present economic condition of India to appoint a European where an Indian can be appointed. It may be that an expert of high ability may be required for any particular work, and if such an expert cannot be found among Indians, no reasonable man would object to a European being imported for the work. But it cannot be said that the Indian Engineers who had applied for the posts in question could not efficiently discharge the duties of those posts. I have again and again drawn the attention of the Government to the injustice which is done to the

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claims of Indians in these Provinces, not only in making new appointments but also in the matter of promotion in the public service. I do not wish to repeat to-day what I have said before. But I must once more invite the attention of the Government to the need of all officers of Government and heads of departments being reminded of their duty to show sufficient consideration to the claims of Indians in the public service. The power that is given to them is abused when those claims are disregarded, and Europeans and Eurasians preferred to Indians merely because of their race, creed or colour.

In conclusion, I earnestly appeal to Your Honour to take early steps to bring about a permanent improvement in the economic condition of the people who have been entrusted to your kindly care. It is clear that the people fall such easy victims to plague and are so little able to withstand the effects of scarcity without assistance from the State because they are extremely poor. To help them by temporary relief is a very valuable service, and entitles you to their gratitude. But so long as they remain as poor as they are, they will continue to be constantly exposed to the ravages of plague, and famine and other causes of preventible death and misery. A philosophical hygienist has well said, that "where the danger of fire is great, the extinction of myriads of individual sparks will al-

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ways be less valuable service to the community, than the intelligent construction of the house and the adaptation there of to existing conditions," and it is my earnest prayer that you may earn deeper and more enduring gratitude of the people by devoting your high ability, energy and the resources of the Government in so building up the strength of the people, so illuminating their minds with knowledge, improving the sanitary surroundings of their dwellings, and in qualifying them to adopt new sources of increasing their incomes as to leave them far better prepared to combat famine and disease, than you find them at present.

THE INCOME TAX AND THE TAXABLE MINIMUM

IN proposing the following resolution of the fourth Indian National Congress held at Allahabad in 1888 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

" That as the administration of the income-tax, especially as regards incomes below Rs. 1,000, has proved extremely unsatisfactory, it is essential, in the opinion of the Congress, that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000. "

I think, gentlemen, I need hardly say much to commend this resolution to your acceptance. This is as you all know, specially the respectable poor man's resolution. The other and larger reforms that we are seeking will no doubt conduce as much to the welfare of the poor, as of the rich. But the effect of this measure, if the Government would only accept it, would be to relieve immediately a large number of poor but respectable people from injustice and oppression. The Congress will not, I hope, be misunderstood in accepting this resolution. We do not object to the income-tax itself ; all that we desire is that the taxable minimum should not be so oppressively low as it is. When Lord Dufferin taunted us, in his

postprandial oration at St. Andrew's dinner, with not representing the country, because we did not ask his Lordship to decuple the income-tax, he quite forgot that the first Congress that met at Bombay distinctly stated that, if the then increasing expenditure could not be met by reductions, the necessary additional revenue should be obtained by extending the license-tax to those classes of the community who were till then exempt from its operation. In other words, it was the Congress that first advocated the re-imposition of the income tax. (*Cheers.*) His Lordship himself complimented the Congress as "that body of intelligent and patriotic men" when he cited their authority in support of his income-tax scheme; but, though we approved and desired the imposition of the income-tax on the rich, or those who could afford to pay it, we did not want it to become an engine for harassing the poor, and if only Lord Dufferin knew half as much as we do of the injustice and oppression practised on the poorer classes of the people in connection with this tax, and, gentlemen, if he knew how wide and deep is the discontent that is consequently spreading in the country, I am sure that, instead of quizzing us as he did for not proposing an increase in the tax, he would have unhesitatingly raised, as we have advised, the taxable minimum to Rs. 1,000. (*Cheers.*)

The taxable minimum at present is, as you very

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well know, Rs. 500 (£34), *i.e.*, less than one-fourth of what it is in England (£150). But, as if this were not a sufficient ground for complaint, in actual practice, people whose incomes do not go beyond Rs. 15 a month, or say Rs. 180 (£12) per annum, are often enough taxed as though their incomes reached the legal minimum of Rs. 500. Official apologists may deny that this is a true representation of facts. But I am confident, gentlemen, that if an honest, independent inquiry were instituted, and the evidence of non-official gentlemen obtained, my assertions would be amply borne out by their testimony. We do not for a moment insinuate that it is the desire of Government that the poor should be thus oppressed, or that the taxable minimum should in practice be reduced so much below the amount fixed by law. The fault apparently rests on the shoulders of those officers who are entrusted with the duty of assessing and collecting the tax. But, gentlemen, the very perfunctory manner in which revising officers hear and dismiss appeals lends colour to the popular belief that the burdensome oppression and injustice that they groan under is practised with the tacit approval of Government. I shall only quote here one instance to show how unbecomingly the tax is administered, and how some Government officials help, by their thoughtless conduct, to bring our Government into disrepute.

Every one knows how poor a man a grain-parcher is. He earns his daily bread by exposing himself to a blazing fire even throughout the hottest months of summer. One would imagine that the tax-collector would pass by such uninviting victims. But that unhappily is not the case. I am sorry to say, and I have it on the best authority, that in some cases the tax has been imposed on even such miserable men as grain-parchers; and what is more painful to have to record is, that the revising officers, instead of exempting such men from payment, have on appeal confirmed the assessment made by their subordinates. In the particular instance that I have just now in my mind, the revising officer ordered the grain-parcher to produce his books, and so prove that his income was not what the assessing officer had imagined it to be. Fancy a grain parcher keeping books: You might as well expect a beggar selling lucifers in the streets of London to keep boooks! (*loud cheers*). But this official would insist upon the books being produced, and that being impossible, as the books had naturally no existence, he compelled the poor man to pay the amount assessed! Tell me, gentlemen, what can bring Government into greater disrepute than such incidents? And what we, therefore, pray to Government, is, that it may raise the taxable minimum to Rs. 1,000, so that

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at least persons whose incomes fall *below* Rs. 500 may be removed sufficiently far from the pale of the tax-collector's harassment. This we urge, gentlemen, primarily out of regard for the sufferings of the poor, but also in vindication of the good name of Government. (*Cheers.*) It is needless for me to dilate further on this resolution. I have no doubt that it will meet with your ready approval and, I venture to hope, with the favourable consideration of Government. (*Cheers.*)

And now, gentlemen, before I resume my seat permit me to refer for a moment to a subject which though not connected with the one entrusted to my humble advocacy, is yet of such vital importance as to justify a momentary digression—I mean the Proclamation of 1858. It is not at all surprising to find speaker, after speaker, from our worthy President downwards, referring to that great charter of our rights and privileges. This is the keystone of the arch which supports all our demands. Therein our gracious Sovereign, under whose benign government we assemble year after year to deliberate upon our common wants and to formulate our common grievances, our gracious Sovereign whose pictures now hang round us, shedding, as it were, some faint reflection of her kindly and motherly influence on our deliberations (*Loud cheers*):—therein, gentlemen,

our most noble Queen of England and Empress of India solemnly extended to us pledges the fulfilment of which we now pray for. I refer to it here simply to denounce with all the strength I can command the false and foolish utterance of a high official that the promises therein made were made more as a matter of policy than in honest good faith. I hold in my hand an extract from Her Majesty's private letter, dated Babelsburg, August 15, 1858, in which Her Majesty gave instructions to Lord Derby to draft that Proclamation, and I will, with your permission read it to you. (*Loud cheers.*) It runs thus:—

“The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would, write it (the Proclamation) himself in his own excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct Government over them, and after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her Government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown and the prosperity following in the train of civilization.” (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

Who in his senses, gentlemen, could fail to be

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struck with the ring of sincerity and beneficence that echoes throughout these sentences? (*Prolonged cheering.*) And yet we find some exalted personages foolish enough to cast a doubt on the sincerity of Her Majesty's promises. Well, gentlemen, perhaps it was to give the lie to such faithless men that the Queen-Empress reiterated her solemn pledges on the memorable occasion of her Jubilee. (*Cheers.*) In responding to the Bombay Jubilee Address, Her Majesty was pleased to say that "it had always been and would be her earnest desire to maintain unswervingly the principles laid down in the Proclamation published on her assumption of the direct control of the Government of India." (*Cheers.*) And, gentlemen, when we ask for an increased share in the administration of our affairs, whether it be as members of the Legislative Councils, or of the Public Service, Civil or Military, what more do we want than that the pledges so graciously given should be as graciously redeemed? And we hope and trust they will be soon redeemed. (*Cheers.*)

With this slight digression, gentlemen, for which I need scarcely apologise to you, considering the universal importance of the subject, I beg to invite your acceptance of the resolution that I have had the honour to lay before you. (*Cheers.*)

EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

IN seconding the following resolution of the Eighth Indian National Congress held at Allahabad in 1892 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :—

That this Congress hereby places on record its deep regret at the resolution of the Government of India on the report of the Public Service Commission in that—

(a) Whereas, if the recommendations of the Public Service Commission had been carried out in their integrity, the posts proposed to be detached from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 would have formed part of an organised Service specially reserved for the natives of India; the resolution of the Government leaves these posts altogether isolated, to which appointment can be made only under the Statute of 1870 ;

(b) Whereas, while 108 appointments were recommended by the Public Service Commission for the Provincial Service, 93 such appointments only have actually been thrown open to that Service : the number to be allotted to Assam not having yet been announced ;

(c) Whereas, while Membership of the Board of Revenue and Commissionership of a Division, were recommended for the Province of Bengal and some other

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Provinces, the Government has not given effect to this resolution :

(d) Whereas while one-third of the Judgeships were recommended to be thrown open to the Provincial Service, only one-fifth have been so thrown open.

Mr. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise to second this resolution more as a matter of form than of necessity ; because, in the first place the subject has been discussed very fully in previous Congress, and, in the second place, the very lucid speech of my esteemed friend Mr. Gokhale, renders it unnecessary for me to offer any further remarks to show the reasonableness of the proposition before you. If you look back at the arguments addressed to you in previous Congresses, you will see that the worst apprehensions which were expressed regarding the results of the Public Service Commission, have been realised and that very few of the recommendations which tended to our benefit have been accepted. (*Shame*). It is really a matter for deep regret that it has been so. It cannot but pain us, people of India, to find that though we have been agitating for the last thirty years for an adequate share of employment in the public service of our country, and though our claims to such share have been repeatedly recognised in the most solemn manner by the Queen and Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, we are not up to this time allowed a free and fair scope in the

matter of that service. (*Cheers*). Acts of Parliament and the Proclamation of the Queen have laid it down that Natives of India will be freely admitted to every post the duties of which they may, by their integrity and ability, be able to discharge. But in actual practice their claims are deliberately and shamelessly ignored. and Europeans are pitchforked into places of emolument which Indians are by their ability and character fully qualified to fill. (*Cries of shame, and loud cheers*). This, gentlemen, has become a question of the most serious importance. It is one in which the most vital interests of the people are involved. We are not prompted to ask for a more extensive employment of our countrymen in the public service simply for the pleasure of seeing them there. If our country were not being drained of its money year after year by the inordinate employment of persons whose home it is not, and who would not make it their home, (*hear, hear*), we would never have given such painfully earnest attention to the matter as we are now giving. (*Loud cheers*). But this ceaseless drain is making India every day poorer and poorer, and it is the duty of every well-wisher of the country to endeavour to stop or check it, as best as he can (*Cheers*).

It is hardly necessary for me to tell you what amount of drain the employment of non-domiciled

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Europeans causes on this country, but if you permit me, I will give you a few figures taken from a Parliamentary return of the annual salaries of officers employed in India in 1889-90 to give you an idea of what that drain is. The paper I quote from, is dated the 31st March 1892. It shows that amount persons drawing salaries ranging from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 per annum, there were 1,207 Europeans, 96 Eurasians and 421 Natives of the country, and they drew respectively in the aggregate—Europeans 88 lakhs, Eurasians 6 lakhs, and Natives of this country 29 lakhs per annum. (I leave the fractions out). In posts with salaries ranging from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 per annum, there were 713 Europeans, 8 Eurasians, and 45 Natives, and the salaries they respectively drew were represented by 97 lakhs for Europeans, 1 lakh for Eurasians, and 5 lakhs for Natives of the country. In posts with salaries varying from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 there were 300 Europeans, 2 Eurasians, and 4 Natives of India—the total of their salaries being 72 lakhs for Europeans, Rs. 46,000 for Eurasians and Rs. 95,000 for Natives. These figures relate to the Civil department. I need not trouble you with those relating to the military and other departments, though I have got them in my hand. I will give you the total of what was given in the shape of salaries to Europeans and Natives respectively in India in 1889-90. The

Europeans numbered 13,178 in all the departments—I am only speaking of posts with salaries of Rs. 1,000 and upwards,—the Eurasians 3,309, and Natives of the country, 11,554. But the salaries which they respectively drew in the aggregate were Europeans Rs. 8,77,14,431. Eurasians, Rs. 72,96,026, and Natives, Rs. 2,55,54,313; that is to say, the Europeans drew 9 crores nearly as against $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores drawn by Natives. (*Hear hear*).

So far as regards salaries. Consider now the pensions which Europeans and Natives received respectively. Natives of India received in pensions here Rs. 59,81,824 only, while the amount of pensions drawn in England alone by Europeans came up to £3,710,678. (*Hear hear*).

I think I need not trouble you with any more figures, as I think those I have given, speak sufficiently eloquently. They show there is a great and inordinate drain of India's money because of the inordinate employment of Europeans in the higher ranks of the public service. If you analyse these figures, if you go into the lists of the different departments, and separate the Civil from the Military, you will be further astonished at the result. The greater portion of all the good posts are reserved for Europeans, while the children of the soil get the smaller appointments, carrying small salaries with them (*Cries of shame.*)

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This is one of those causes which is at the bottom of the increasing poverty of the people of this country. About the poverty there cannot now be the slightest doubt. Lord Dufferin's Government did doubt the accuracy of the statements made about the poverty of the people, and he, therefore, appointed a committee of enquiry, the result of which was embodied in the now well-known resolution of October 1888. That resolution says that there is evidence to show that there is a great deal of poverty in the country; and with that fact established, and with the knowledge that in this country the average annual income per head is only £2 as against £39 per head in England,—I think, no man can for a moment doubt that the result of the present system of getting out excessively highly paid Europeans for employment in the higher ranks of the Indian Service, must have a most disastrous effect on the prosperity of this country. (*Loud cheers.*)

I shall not take up much more of your time. I only hope that this ruinous condition of things will not be allowed to go on much longer (*applause*); but if it is, I do not know what the consequences will be. European officials of Government come here for only a short period of time, say twenty or twenty-five years at the utmost. They feel therefore, as a rule, but a temporary and limited interest in its welfare. But we who live here permanently have to suffer the consequences of

good or bad administration for all time. It is, therefore, that we beg of them to govern the country economically and well. And it is as a means to that end, that we ask them to substitute the comparatively cheaper indigenous talent and industry in place of the highly costly imported foreign agency in the administration. (*Cheers*). And I devoutly hope they will no longer refuse to listen to this voice of reason and justice. (*Renewed cheers*).

This question of the services has engaged the attention of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji ever since the year 1855, and he is anxious that this Congress should re-affirm the resolution that until simultaneous examinations are held in India as well as in England, full justice will not be done to the people of this country. He is so anxious that we should do so, because he intends to bring the matter before Parliament. You know Mr. Dadabhai has fought many a battle in connection with this question. It was through his endeavours that the Act of 1870 was passed by Parliament. He had, of course, hoped for very much better things from that act, but all the good it was expected to do was nullified by the way the appointments were made under it. We too complained of the Statutory Service, not because it was a Statutory Service, but because the discretion vested in the Government was exercised in a faulty manner. We asked that simul-

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taneous examinations should be held in England and in India, but we did not expect that while that concession would not be given to us, the Statutory Service would be practically abolished. But when we hoped and prayed for better things, the little that we had has been snatched away from us with cruel hands. Such is the justice our rulers have come to administer to us now! (*Cries of shame, shame*). However, it is clear that so long as simultaneous examinations are not held in this country and in England, it is idle to expect our countrymen to enter that service in sufficiently large numbers. We only ask for simultaneous examinations here and in England, though, as Mr. Dadabhai said at the first Congress, the right thing would be to hold examinations for admission into the Civil Service of India in India only, (*cheers*), because those that want to enter the Civil Service of India should take the trouble to come to India to compete for it. (*Cheers*). It is singularly unjust to compel the people of this country to go ten thousand miles away from their country, to pass an examination to qualify themselves for service in their own country. (*Loud applause*). No other people labour under such an awful disadvantage. Must we alone be subjected to it because we are the subjects of a strong power like England? (*Loud cheers*). England, we know, has got the strength of a giant, but she should not use it as a giant in enforcing unfair

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terms and conditions against a people, placed by Providence under her care, but should allow her nobler instincts to guide her in this matter as they have guided her in many others, and see that we are governed practically, and not merely theoretically, in consonance with those noble principles of justice and good government which her honoured Sovereign and her statesmen have laid down for the purpose, and which guide her in the conduct of her own affairs. (*Cheers*). We pray only for a fair field and for no favour. (*Loud and prolonged applause*).

PROVINCIAL CONTRACTS

IN supporting the following resolution of the twelfth Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1896 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

Considering that the Local Governments are entrusted with all branches of administration, excepting Army expenditure, superior supervision and control here and in England, and the payment of interest on debt, this Congress is of opinion that the allotments made to the Provincial Governments on what is called the provincial adjustments are inadequate, and that in view of the revision of the Quinquennial Provincial Contract which is to take place in 1897, the time has arrived when a further step should be taken in the matter of financial decentralization, by leaving the responsibility of the financial administration of the different provinces principally to the Local Governments; the Supreme Government receiving from each Local Government only a fixed contribution levied in accordance with some definite and equitable principle, which should not be liable to any disturbance during the currency of the period of contract, so as to secure to Local Governments that fiscal certainty, and that advantage arising from the moral expansion of the revenues which are so essential to all real progress in

the development of the resources and the satisfactory administration of the different provinces.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—The history of the **scheme** of provincial decentralisation has already been told you by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Tilak in a very lucid speech. I will not therefore repeat it. From the time the idea was first put forward by Mr. Laing in his Financial Statement for 1862-63, the main objects held in view were to secure certainty to the financial arrangements of the Government, and to give Local Governments the power and the responsibility of managing their own local affairs. Let us see how far these objects have been gained. As the system has been worked, it has no doubt secured certainty to the financial arrangements of the Government of India, in the sense that having made what are called the Provincial Contracts the Governments of India is secure during the period of the said contracts against any demands from the Local Administrations, beyond those provided for by the contracts. But the element of certainty may be said to be wholly absent under it so far as the finances of the Local Governments are concerned. The Imperial Government binds the Provincial Governments to the terms of the contracts, but does not consider itself bound by them in the same manner. Being the supreme power it thinks it has a right to levy contributions, as it has done more than once, during the term

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of the said contracts, over and above the amount stipulated for in them, and to require the Provincial Governments to hand over the balances in their hands at the end of the period of the contracts or at any time when its extravagance may lead to a fresh demand for funds. This does not however seem to be what the authors of the scheme or those who developed it in its different stages contemplated. What seems to have been intended was that except on occasions of extraordinary emergency, the Local Governments also should be secure against any demands from the Imperial Governments beyond those provided for in the contracts, and that they should be allowed to retain for provincial expenditure, any sums which they may have saved during the term of the contracts, in addition to a fair proportion of the increased revenues of their respective provinces at the renewal of the contract. As regards the other object, it is loudly complained that while the Government of India has made Provincial Governments responsible for carrying out all the necessary internal reforms and improvements in administration, it does not leave them sufficient power, which here of course means money, to enable them to discharge their duties properly. We have seen such a high official as His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal complaining that the provincial sheep is shorn too close at each renewal and is left to shiver till the

fleece grows again. Now, it is hardly necessary to say that this requires to be remedied. The system as it is worked causes much dissatisfaction, and has been condemned by several high and responsible officials of Government. It is extremely desirable that the whole question should be reconsidered, and the system placed on a sound and satisfactory footing. The solution, it seems to me, will depend upon a true appreciation and proper recognition of the relative extent and importance of the duties and responsibilities of the Provincial Governments on the one hand, and of the Supreme Government on the other. Broadly speaking, it may be said that while the Imperial Government is responsible for maintaining peace in the country, and for safeguarding it against aggression from outside, the responsibility of carrying out all domestic reforms and improvements upon which depends the progress of the people in prosperity and civilisation, and which constitute the truest test of the success or failure of a civilised administration, has been laid wholly upon the Provincial Governments. They must, therefore be placed in possession of adequate means to discharge their duties properly. I have no quarrel with those who assert that the Provincial Governments are as much interested in the expenditure directly controlled by the Imperial Government as the Imperial Government itself. Now would I quarrel with the view that

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the Imperial Government should be regarded as the master of all the revenues raised in the country and that it should be considered as making "assignments" to Provincial Governments for "Provincial uses" rather than as receiving "contributions" from them for "Imperial" purposes. I am quite willing to adopt the homely metaphor used by my friend Mr. Tilak and to regard the Provincial Governments as house-wives and the Imperial Government as the master of the house. But will the Government of India, which is so jealous to retain all power in its hands, also recognise the responsibility which goes along with that power? (Hear, hear). Will it recognise that it is responsible for the welfare and progress of the vast population of the various Provinces of India? Will it provide the mistress of the house to whom it must be supposed, under this view, to have delegated the care and custody of the children, with adequate funds to enable her to bring them up in the standard of a civilised man, properly supplied with the necessities of life, their minds illumined with the light of knowledge, their surroundings made healthy and clean, and the ordinary comforts and conveniences of civilised life brought within their reach? (Hear, hear,) Or will it leave her with a mere subsistence allowance barely sufficient to keep them in existence and allow them to grow in ignorance with its companions misery and crime, an easy prey to

oppression and a disgrace to their guardian? Gentlemen, I am sorry to say it, but it does seem to me that the Government of India deals with the peoples of the various provinces in this matter, more like a rack-renting landlord, who leaves just enough to its tenant as would enable him to keep himself and his family alive, and to toil on to raise the revenue for his master, than like a guardian of the people, solicitous to advance their happiness and prosperity. (Cheers). His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal speaking with the responsibility attaching to his high position was constrained to observe the other day ; " It has at times appeared to me that the Supreme-Government did not always realise that it has as great a responsibility for local administration as the Local Government itself. I have seen or seemed to see a tendency on the part of that Government to wash its hands off this responsibility as regards finance." And in view of the revision of Provincial Contracts, Sir Alexander Mackenzie deemed it his duty to exhort the Hon'ble the Finance Minister, "to enter upon the revision in full consciousness of the fact that the Imperial Government is as much interested in the development and improvement of Provincial Administration as the Provincial Governments themselves, and that any check on them is a check to the whole Imperial machine." I venture to hope that it will not be necessary

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for any one to repeat this protest and advice, and that the Government of India will so deal with the matter as to remove all just causes of complaint. (Cheers).

Gentlemen, I will now try briefly to show you how ungenerously my provinces have been treated in the matter of these Provincial allotments. Among the many defects of the existing system, the inequality of the assignments made to the different Provinces is not the least objectionable. There is no rule or principle underlying the distribution. The original grants were based on the then existing actual expenditure in each Province. The Provinces of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, which having come earlier under the British rule, had made comparatively greater progress and were spending much more in various useful directions than the other provinces received much large grants than these latter. And as each succeeding contract was based on the ascertained average expenditure of each Province during the period of the preceeding contract, the inequality has been maintained to this day. Its injustice however has become more glaring. A few figures will illustrate what I mean. I cull these from Annexure B to the Financial Statement for 1896-97. The total revenue and expenditure for each province are given there as follows:—

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	Total Revenue.	Total Ex- penditure	Net Revenue.	Percentage of expendi- ture to revenue.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Central Province ...	1,464,172	1,012,410	451,762	69
Burma ...	4,576,838	3,184,757	1,392,081	69
Assam ...	1,171,685	784,122	387,563	66
Bengal ...	9,554,370	5,076,070	4,478,300	53
N. W. P. & Oudh ...	9,567,512	4,013,341	5,554,171	41
Punjab ...	4,589,809	2,775,986	1,813,823	60
Madras ...	9,596,739	4,674,084	4,922,655	48
Bombay ...	7,977,549	5,265,262	2,712,287	66

You will see from this that, with the exception of Madras, which shows a slightly large figure, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh contribute the largest amount of revenue, larger than that of rich Bengal and larger still than that of Bombay. And yet the percentage of our revenue allotted to us to provide for all internal progress and administrative improvements in these vast Provinces, is smaller than that allowed to any other Province in India, being only 41 per cent. of our total Revenue, while Madras receives 48 per cent. Bengal, 53, Bombay, 66, the Punjab, 60, and the Central

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Provinces, 69 per cent. of the total Revenues of their respective Provinces. You may remember that the Hon'ble Mr Bhuskate, who made a vigorous protest against the existing system of Provincial Contracts in the Supreme Legislative Council last year, prepared a table shewing the incidence of taxation per head in the different provinces. From that table it would appear that we of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh pay Rs. 2-0-7 per head of our population, while Bengal pays only Rs. 1-5-5. Even if the measure of our contribution did not entitle us to a more liberal allotment, our needs at any rate do. (Hear, hear). There is no province of India which has suffered more by reason of these small assignments and which stands in need of more liberal grants than the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. The allowance we have been receiving has sufficed to keep us alive. But it has not been sufficient to provide us with education, with an efficient Police and with other necessary instruments of civilisation. In fact we have suffered a double wrong. We have not been given sufficient opportunities to improve. And we have been condemned for our backwardness. Alike during the Hindu and the Mohamedan regime, the North Western Provinces and Oudh constituted the most civilised part of India. They were the home of learning and refinement. But during the British rule, with a special department of public instruction to promote

education, my Provinces have had the misfortune of being left behind every other Province in the race of education. We have to bear the reproach of being the most backward Province in India, more backward than even the Central Provinces, the percentage of the total number of scholars to the total population of school-going age, as shewn in the last quinquennial review, being only 4 for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, while it is 6 for the Central Provinces, 8 for the Punjab, 12.9 for Madras, 14 for Bengal, and 15 for Bombay. Apart from some mistakes of policy into which this is neither the time nor the occasion to enter, I think our backwardness is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that while in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, the total expenditure from all sources on education in the year 1894-95 was 98, 66, and 66 lakhs respectively, it was only 36 lakhs in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Towards this expenditure, the public funds (Provincial and Local) contributed about 20 lakhs only in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh; while they contributed 28 lakhs in Madras, 30 lakhs in Bombay, and 33 lakhs in Bengal (I have left the fractions out). I think you will have the charity to admit that if the Government had spent more on our education, we should probably have shewn better results. (Yes, yes and cheers). I do not wish it to be understood that the entire blame in this

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connection lies upon the Government of India alone. The North-Western Provinces Government have also been much to blame for not having given sufficient weight for a long time past to the claims of education. But the past is past. And the present Government of the United Provinces, presided over by that liberal-minded and far-sighted statesman, Sir Antony MacDonnell, (cheers) is fully alive to its duty in the matter of education, and is, I believe, anxious to promote it to the best of its power. (Cheers). In reviewing the last Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Sir Antony MacDonnell expressed his regret at the backward condition of education in those Provinces, and took the opportunity to declare that "the claims of education are substantial and must not be overlooked" even in the then existing unfavourable state of Provincial Finance. His Honor desired to make an additional grant for the furtherance of primary education, but, as his Financial Secretary explained, owing to the paucity of funds at the disposal of the Government, the proposed grant had to be curtailed and limited to the small sum of Rs. 75,000. Similarly we require more money for reforms in the Police department. There are loud complaints heard against the Police in all parts of the country. But I doubt it that body is half so bad in any other Province as it is in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Appointed

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as the guardians of the public peace, to prevent crime and to bring offenders to justice, the Police have in too many places come to be a standing source of terror and oppression to peaceful citizens more than to evil-doers. By their acts of omission and commission they are bringing a great deal of discredit upon the administration. Speaking on this subject, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has observed that "in regard to Police expenditure, from my experience of the Province, I think there is no department of the Public Service which calls for the expenditure of Public funds more than this department. In the interest of pure and efficient control in our Police Stations we must not only appoint a class of officers qualified by their education to fill such positions, but we must pay them sufficiently to remove them from the temptations to which they are exposed." And His Honor expressed the hope that in the new Provincial Contract he would be allowed adequate funds to carry out the policy of his predecessors in this respect. Our whole case was set forth admirably by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor in his speech on the occasion of the consideration of our last Budget. And I cannot do better than quote here the concluding remarks of that speech in which the case has been summed up. Said Sir Antony MacDonnell ; "Briefly put, the result of our financial experiences is that we cannot administer this Province for 320 lakhs. The

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bargain made on the last occasion was no doubt fair and equitable under the circumstances of that time, but the Province has advanced since then with rapid strides; it requires a better Judicial establishment, a better-paid Police, a more liberal expenditure on the educational programme, and a fuller measure of local government. There is no department of our government at the present time which does not suffer from want of money and which would not be improved by an improvement in the finances. Without encroaching upon the assistance of the Supreme Government we have faced our difficulties and striven hard to help ourselves. That being so, I am in hopes that when next March the Provincial Contract comes to be revised by the distinguished financier who controls the finances of the State, it will be recognized that we have done as much as could be done with our means, and that unless further means are placed at our disposal, the future of the Province will not be safeguarded." With this declaration from the responsible Ruler of our Provinces before the Government of India, we do hope that at the next revision of the Provincial Contracts an allotment sufficient to meet our various needs will be made to the United Provinces to enable them to make a healthy advance and to come nearer their more fortunate sister provinces as regards progress and enlightenment. (*Loud cheers.*)

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IN supporting the following Resolution of the nineteenth Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1903, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

That this Congress, while welcoming any wisely considered scheme for the reform of the educational policy of Government, is of opinion that the Universities Bill, if passed into law, will have, as recommended in the report of the Universities Commission, the effect of restricting the area of education and completely destroying the independence of the Universities upon which largely depend their efficiency and usefulness, and turning them practically into departments of Government.

That this Congress is of opinion that the provisions of the Bill will not remove the shortcomings of the present system of higher education, but that provisions for funds and improvement in the standard of teaching by the agency of a superior class of teachers are imperatively needed in the interests of higher education.

That this Congress prays for the following modifications :—

(a) *That each University should be dealt with by a separate Act.*

(b) *That in the case of the older Universities the*

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number of ordinary Fellows should not be less than 200, of whom at least 80 should be elected by registered graduates, and 20 by the members of the Faculties and that in the case of the Universities of Allahabad and of the Punjab, a similar provision should be made.

(c) That the ordinary Fellows should hold office as at present for life, but should be liable to dis-qualification for absence during a fixed period.

(d) That the provision of a statutory proportion for the heads of the Colleges on the Syndicate be omitted.

(e) That all graduates of ten years' standing in a Faculty be declared eligible to vote.

(f) That the section making it obligatory upon Colleges which apply for affiliation or have been affiliated to provide for residential quarters for Students and Professors and for the permanent maintenance of the Colleges be omitted.

(g) That as regards affiliation and disaffiliation the decision should, instead of being the direct act of Government as under the Bill, be as at present the act of the University, subject to the sanction of the Govt.

(h) That as regards the inspection of Colleges it should be conducted by persons specially appointed by the Syndicate unconnected with the Government Educational Department or any aided or unaided College.

(i) That the power of making bye-laws, and regulations should as at present be vested in the Senate, subject to the sanction of the Government.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—I rise to support the resolution which has been so ably moved and seconded by other speakers. The resolution is one which I need hardly say, is of great and lasting importance; and we cannot be blamed if we try to discuss it at some length at this meeting. Gentlemen, the one thing that we have to consider in connection with this question of University reform is, what was it that led to the enquiry being instituted? What was the state of things with which fault was found? What was the state of things which it was sought to remedy? And then, consider what the remedies are which have been suggested and what the remedies are which the Government now propose to apply. Gentlemen, we must all ask ourselves and ask the Government what the faults of the Senates and the Syndicates of the existing Universities were which led the Government to appoint a Commission to enquire into the state of University Education. You will wade through all the literature connected with the Universities of this country in vain, to find that during the past many years there never have been serious complaints made regarding the constitution either of the Syndicates or the Senates except in some trifling particulars or on some occasions. Speaking generally, you will find that the Syndicates and the Senates have done their work very satisfactorily. (*Hear, hear*). Now, gentlemen, when the

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Government of Lord Curzon appointed a Commission, there was no doubt, complaint was made by him that the results of University Education were not altogether satisfactory, and were not as satisfactory as they ought to be. Gentlemen, in the same breath every speaker who has discussed this question of the unsatisfactory character of the results of University Education, every responsible speaker, has admitted that the Universities have produced men eminent for learning, men who have distinguished themselves in the various walks of life into which they entered, men who have upheld the honour and intellect of the country and men who have served the Government with honour and credit. If there were some unfortunate young men who did not succeed in getting just the number of marks necessary to enable them to pass, that does not justify their being condemned as unworthy and dishonourable men who ought to be shunned like moral lepers. The line between a passed candidate and a failed B.A., as has been called, is a very short line and if a candidate has not succeeded, certainly we may be more charitable than we are, and not condemn him as altogether an unworthy and undesirable person whose existence ought to be provided against by the legislature taking up the task of introducing a new enactment.

Then, the other complaint was that the University Education imparted in this Country was not as high as it ought to be. On this point, I think, Anglo-Indian officials, European scholars and natives of this country were all agreed. I do not think that there is a single man who has said that the education imparted in our Universities is as high as it ought to be. On the contrary, we poor natives of India, have been crying hoarse with the prayer that the Government should make provision for the highest teaching being imparted in the different branches of study, which ought to find a place in a University. So far as this complaint is concerned, I will deal with it further later on.

But I want to point out that, so far as this Bill goes, it deals with both these questions. It enters at great length into the question of the constitution of the Senate and the Syndicate. It confers a variety of powers on the Syndicates; it transfers a great deal of the power of control to Government and makes also a small provision to enable the Universities to appoint professors and teachers. Now gentlemen, you are all aware that the Bill is taken up in a great measure with questions concerning the constitution of the Syndicate and the Senate and the vast powers conferred upon the former. Let us examine these provisions briefly and let us then see whether there is no justification for the united opposition which all

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educated Indians have been offering to this Universities Bill. Gentlemen, I am anxious that the matter should be considered with as little prejudice and bias as His Excellency the Viceroy desires it should be. Let us take the provision regarding the constitution of the Senate. We in the United Provinces have got a Universities Act. The Allahabad Universities Act has never been said to be a faulty Act. Its provisions are liberal to a large extent as compared with the provisions of this Bill. There were no complaints made, and no complaints also in Bombay as we have heard from various speakers. We, then introduce a Bill which will make a clean sweep of these Acts which have worked well, and which have given no room for complaint. Why deal with the whole country as if it were one Province? In the Allahabad University the provision regarding the constitution of the Senate is this. There are certain Fellows who are appointed ex-officio; the remaining Fellows appointed half by Government and half by the Senate by election. Now, gentlemen, if in 1887 the Government saw the wisdom of permitting members of the Senate to elect half the Fellows of the Senate, where is there any reason shown or suggested for now depriving them of the right of electing Fellows to the Senate? I thought, gentlemen, that system of nomination had long ago been found to be faulty, and buried in England.

The Government had also in this country during the last fifteen years shown that they do not believe entirely in the system of nomination. In the matter of Municipal Boards the principle of election has been introduced ; in the matter of District Boards the elective principle is working. In the matter of Legislative Councils only a few years ago the Government admitted the reasonableness of the demand for introducing the elective principle. Now the Senates, which were the first body in this country in which the principle of election was first introduced and worked, are going to be deprived of their power in the beginning of the twentieth century. You cannot help feeling that the hand of the clock is being put back forcibly. Gentlemen, this is the state of things so far as the Senates are concerned. What is it that is going to be done? Nominations are going to be made largely by Government to the Senates. Gentlemen, I have the greatest respect for gentlemen who constitute the Government individually. But when you come to consider them in their capacity as representing the various departments of Government, then you cannot speak of them with the same confidence and the same esteem, not because they have not the desire to do the best thing in the best way, but because they are not brought into touch with the great majority of those from whom they should make the selection and of whose ability and willingness to co-operate in

this great work they should obtain first hand personal knowledge. Therefore I do apprehend that, in making the appointments, the Government will largely be guided by the recommendations of the Director of Public Instruction and also by the recommendations or selections of the Secretary who may be in power at the time. None of these methods I need hardly say, can bring to the Senate half the men of ability and capacity expected to advise the Government and the public in matters of education that would come in through the channel of election. What then can be the justification, for this retrograde step? Has it been proved, is it alleged that the Fellows appointed in Madras, Calcutta, Bombay or Allahabad have been appointed? Has it been proved that they were not just the men who, in the great majority of instances, would have been picked up if proper selection had been made, men who have knowledge of the people and of the requirements of the Province? Why then put in this provision which militates against the principle upon which all other assemblies constituted by Government are worked?

Now, gentlemen, so much for election. Let us now consider what is the position of the Senate. Here, while I am dwelling upon this aspect of the question, let me say that it is stated that now the power to return Fellows will be legalised. Very thankful for this kindness, but, we would much rather that the

power were not legalised. There are many unwritten laws in England which have led to great prosperity and have conduced to the benefit of the people. We are not so much in love with statutory provisions. What we want is the substance and not the name. If without any legal provision, the power, which the Government recognised ‘reasonableness of election conferred upon the members of the Senate and graduates to return Fellows has been well exercised, the Government ought to allow it to be exercised in future. Now, gentlemen, comes the question of permitting graduates to elect. They are to elect seven in the Province from which I come; seven in the Province, of the Punjab. Now, gentlemen, at present half the number of Fellows is elected by the Senate. Why should graduates be not given the opportunity of exercising the privilege of returning such of their fellow-men as they know to be able and competent to manage the business of the University. You have given the privilege of returning Members of Council to Municipal Boards and District Boards who, in turn, have been returned by people who have got no education and whose income is very small. And you will deny to the products of your University—of whom you ought to be proud—you will deny to them the privilege of returning a few Fellows to the University where there are no political considerations involved, or at any

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rate, where there ought not to be any political considerations.

Let us see what the case of the Syndicate is. The Senate, having appointed the Syndicate, becomes practically dead ; it is only to come to life practically when it is to appoint a Syndicate. Now, gentlemen, I do not pretend to be familiar with the constitutions of the Senates of many Universities, but I have studied the constitutions of some Universities and it seems to me preposterous, to say the least of it, to say that a body which is really the executive of the larger body of the Senate ought to sit over the heads of the Senate and pass on measures to Government and decide many questions of importance without any reference to the Senate. Gentlemen, if you are going to have a reconstituted Senate, why this great feeling of distrust? Trust begets trust, and the reverse also holds good. You complain that we are very uncharitable in criticising you ; you complain that we attribute motives. Very well, we are sorry if that should be so. But here you are. You will not trust us with these smaller powers when along with a number of European professors and Government officials, we want to exercise the privilege of electing such men as we consider to be best qualified to work on the Syndicate. What does the statutory provision for the representation of the teaching faculty mean ? I have the highest respect for the body of pro-

fessors under whom instruction is being imparted in this country. I have never been disobedient to my professors (Laughter); and I can tell you that I consider it a high privilege to sit at the feet of learned men and imbibe the learning that they are able to impart. I think, good and true are the men who are in the Senate; all men connected with the Educational Department who ought to be on the Syndicate, will by force of circumstances be elected over the heads of any other men that might be there. The Senate has not in the past failed to discharge this duty in my part of the country, in Bombay the constitution of which I have studied to some extent, and in Bengal, as my friend says, why now tie down the Senate to the necessity of electing a man whether it considers him competent or not? In my own province the Principal of a College—I don't want you to know his name—was very keenly anxious to get on the Syndicate. There were many other learned men and those who were as keen in thinking that he ought not to come on the Syndicate. He was defeated on more than one occasion. You can just consider that, if you make it compulsory on the part of the Senate to elect a certain proportion of men, the danger is that men who are not competent will be put on the Syndicate and that the entire management of the University must suffer to some extent. Therefore it is that we pray to Government to remove the clause which makes this

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statutory provision regarding the representation of professors, and to trust to the good sense of the members of the Senate to elect not only half the proportion but a major portion of those who will deal with the executive affairs of the University.

Gentlemen, so much for the constitution of the Senate and the Syndicate. Let us see what other powers are going to be conferred upon the Syndicate under the Bill. The syndicate is going to deal with the important question of affiliation and disaffiliation. Gentlemen, knowing as we do in our part of the country what difficulties the Colleges undergo in getting affiliated where this power is entrusted to the Syndicate, I must strongly protest against this provision. Gentlemen, you have other conditions put in. There is the provision for the residence of students in Colleges. Now I may tell you that I am whole-heartedly in favour of the residential system. In my own humble way in connection with the Muir College at Allahabad I have been working along with other Members as Secretary of the Committee which has raised Rs. 1,60,000 to build a boarding house. We are endeavouring to raise three lakhs and provide accommodation for 200 students. Gentlemen, while I am so keenly in favour of that system being introduced, I do feel that it will be a wrong thing to make it compulsory upon Colleges to provide the system of residential quarters because they

are affiliated. I will tell you my reason. The Muir College at Allahabad was established in response to the wishes of certain leading gentlemen and with the help of subscriptions paid by several native chiefs, the Maharajah of Vizianagaram contributing one lakh. Of the two lakhs raised, a considerable sum, the Government said, would be reserved for residential quarters. That was at the time of Lord Northbrook. That was in 1871. You will find, in the history of the college, that not until the time of Sir Antony Macdonnell, were any steps taken to really build a boarding house to accommodate students. For nearly twenty years the Government which had spent nine lakhs upon the Muir College buildings did not see its way to build a boarding house for accommodating students. I do not blame the Government of the North-Western Provinces. I have my reasons. No partiality. The Government of the United Provinces have been given such small pittances in the shape of provincial grants and contracts that they did not find the money to invest. Not only that, but worse, the Government of India in many years actually scolded the Government of the United Provinces for having spent much money on higher educations and less on other kinds of education. If Government with all its mighty resources, have recognised the utility of the residential system after twenty years, does it not seem violent to require all

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institutions which now want affiliation to show a splendid row of residential quarters for students, before they are to be affiliated? We must proceed slowly: we must have patience. If the Government there have not been able to work up that system it is not they alone that have failed; but they have failed in other provinces—if the Government Colleges have not their rooms for students, then they ought to pause, allow public opinion to grow and allow people time to make preparation for these things.

Gentlemen, I will not take up your time by going into any more details so far as the provision for residential quarters is concerned. I will claim your attention for a few short minutes while I submit my remarks with regard to the other aspects; namely the teaching function of the University. There is a provision regarding teaching in the Universities Bill. When the Viceroy complained that our Universities did not produce men of as high ability as it ought to, he forgot that the Universities of this country were not in the least degree to blame. Young men of this country have shown aptitude enough to receive the benefits of the highest kind of education imparted in this country. Those that have gone out of India have proved it further. While the Government have been conscious that this system ought to be introduced, they have never yet been able to make up their minds to do so.

So far back as 1854, you will find that this was what was said with regard to higher teaching in the despatch of that year. "It will be advisable to institute in connection with the Universities, professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning for the acquisition of which, at any rate, in an advanced degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions in India." The Education Commission that was appointed also dwelt upon its necessity, and commented thus. "That in order to encourage diversity of culture, both on the literary and on the physical side, it is desirable in all the larger colleges, Government and aided, to make provision for more than one of the alternative courses laid down by the Universities." Now when you come to the Punjab University Act, you find that a provision is made therein regarding teaching. In the Allahabad University Act which was passed in 1887 a more clear and more liberal provision is made to enable Universities to appoint professors and lecturers to give lectures for advanced degrees. What has come of it? Who is to be blamed for it, if this provision is not worked? It is not in a spirit of unfair criticism, but only to point out the fact, I submit that it is the Government to blame for it. If the Government had only found the money, or if the Government had realised its duty in the way of providing high instruction, these Universities would long ago

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have resounded with lectures of learned men brought from England and Germany. But Government had failed to do so unfortunately, and now the natives of India, the graduates of these Universities and failed B.A.'s are all blamed and punished for the omissions and sins of Government. What is the provision that is being made in so far as teaching is concerned to advance our learning and promote research? Mr. Raleigh said that some of the schemes which have been submitted to Government involved an expenditure which the Government were not prepared to incur. He said that five lakhs would be set apart for five years for the purpose of giving instruction in aid of the Universities and Colleges whose claims to special assistance in carrying out reforms, which we have in view, have been established. You can understand how this small sum will be distributed in dribblets to the different Universities. This is not the way in which you can expect higher teaching to be provided for. You will remember that Sir Normon Lockyer gave an estimate of 60 lakhs. Can we not ask the Government of India reasonably to give us at least one-fourth of that sum, namely fifteen lakhs a year, to have higher teaching in all the various Universities? The country is considered to be fit enough to have the services of the best men of the Civil Service;

the country is considered fit enough to have the best soldier the British Government can have. Are not the youth of this country qualified to receive the benefit of instruction from the best professors that can be brought to this country? We natives of this country, have certainly no voice in expending the money which is raised from us. But if Lord Curzon's Government will be pleased to consider the moral aspect of the question and take into consideration the feelings of the educated people of India from one end of the country to the other, he should, in justice to their claims and in conformity with their prayer, set apart a much larger sum for higher education than he thinks of providing.

I will now conclude, I think, we have seen that we are not to blame for not getting the benefits of the advanced type of education that we desire. Lord Curzon is a University man; he understands certainly the benefits of higher education. I will say to him, give us Universities and provide in them for the highest instruction being imparted; provide for the development of talents, for the cultivation of literature, for the elevation of professional standards and provide also a place where learned men can find their calm repose which is to be seen only in seats of learning. A great American writer speaking of Universities—you will pardon

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me for quoting the passage which is so pertinent to the subject—says, “ A man of varied experience in public affairs has said that a great University should be at once ‘the best place of education, the greatest machine for research, and the most delicious retreat for learned leisure.’ This is doubtless the truth, but it is only a half truth. Universities, with ample resources for the support of investigators, scholars, thinkers and philosophers, numerous enough, learned enough, and wise enough to be felt among the powers of the age, will prove the safeguards of repose, not only for those who live within their learned cloisters, but for all who come under their influence. A society of the choicest minds produced in any country, engaged in receiving and imparting knowledge, devoted to the study of nature, the noblest monument of literature, the marvellous abstractions of mathematical reasoning, the results of historical evidence, the progress of human civilization and the foundations of religious faith, will be at once an example of productive quietude and an incitement to the philosophic view of life, so important to our countrymen in this day when the miserable cry of pessimism on the one hand, and the delightful but deceitful illusions of optimism on the other hand, are in danger of leading them from the middle path, and from that reasonableness of mind which first recognises that

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which is, and then has the hope and courage to strive for the better."

Gentlemen, Lord Curzon has been in our midst for five years. Great hopes were raised in our minds from the high and noble utterances of His Excellency. His Excellency's career, for all that we can see, is now coming to a close, and may I appeal now to him to immortalise his name by leaving behind him an institution which will keep up his name better than the Victoria Memorial Hall. Gentlemen, it were much better if Lord Curzon was not going to introduce real good Universities. I do wish that he had not taken up the subject like his predecessors who did not take it up and had not recognised what was needed. He might be pardoned for not having done so. But for him to have recognised the truth and then to have failed to rise to the occasion will be a thing to be much deplored. Let us yet hope that His Excellency will see the reasonableness of our claims and make ample and liberal provision for real high education, for real Universities, which will enable our young men to acquire something of that education which second class Universities impart in other countries.

THE LONDON COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

In supporting the following resolution of the seventeenth Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1901 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

1. *That the Congress is of opinion that it is essential for the success of its work, that there should be a Committee in London acting in concert with it, and a weekly journal published in London propagating its views, and this Congress resolves that its British Committee as at present constituted and the journal, INDIA, as published by it be maintained and continued and the cost be raised in accordance with the following scheme :*

2. *That a circulation of 4,000 copies of INDIA be secured by allocating, 1,500 copies to Bengal, 700 copies to Madras, 200 copies to the North Western provinces, 50 copies to Oudh, 100 copies to the Punjab, 450 copies to Berar, and the Central Provinces and 1,000 copies to Bombay, the rate of yearly subscription being Rs. 8.*

3. *That the following gentlemen be appointed Secretaries for the circles against which their names appear, and be held responsible for the sums due for the copies of INDIA assigned to their respective circles and the money paid in advance, in two half-yearly instalments :—*

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Bengal ...	{	Babu Surendranath Banerjee „ Bhupendranath Basu „ Baikunta Nath Sen
Bombay ...	{	Hon'ble Sir. P. M. Mehta Sir. D. E. Wacha Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale
Madras ...	{	Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Rao Mr. Vijaya Raghava Chariar „ V. Ryrn Nambiar „ G. Subramaniya Iyer
Berar and the Central Pro- vinces.	{	Mr R. N. Mudholkar
N. W. Pro- vinces and Oudh.	{	Hon. M. M. Malaviya „ Ganga Prasad Varma „ S. Sinha „ A. Nundy
Cawnpore ...		Mr. Prithivi Nath Pandit
Panjab ...		Mr. Lala Harikissen Lal

4. That with a view to meet the balance required to defray the expenses of INDIA and the British Committee, a special delegation fee of Rs. 10 be paid by each delegate in addition to the usual fee now paid by him with effect from 1902.

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES:—I think it is perfectly superfluous on my part to support the resolution which has been so ably moved, seconded and supported by the three past Presidents of the Congress, and which, so far as I can see in the way in

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which it is received, has already commended itself to your hearty acceptance. Gentlemen, if I still come here at the call of the Chair, to add a few words of earnest request to you, it is only because I feel that the circumstance is one, where earnest request may be made to you to enable you to look upon this question not only from the sentimental, but also from the keenly selfish, point of view. Gentlemen, let us put aside all considerations of gratitude, let us put aside all considerations of loyalty to our leaders. Place before yourselves one plain simple question. Do you or do you not need this organisation? Do you or do you not need this organ to be your month-piece, to be your organ of the views for which you assemble from year to year to express in the National Congress. (Hear, Hear.) Gentlemen, we might take a profitable lesson from the banking people and from the trades people. We may take one important lesson in this respect from the individual who has any interest to promote, in another country. He wants an agency there, he spends money lavishly to secure a best agent he can. Here we are carrying on a vast agitation, endeavouring to serve the interest of the numerous millions of our country, endeavouring to effect the policy of the Government both in this country and in England. How on earth can you expect to prosper in your endeavour unless you have an accredited representative society

to represent you, to watch over your interest at the place where the destinies of the people of the country are shaped (*Hear, Hear*). Gentlemen, I say, but look at it from absolutely selfish point of view. I ask you one single question,—what sum, what fabulous sum, could you offer to purchase permanently — for the Congress the services of an Allen Hume and of a William Wedderburn and of a Dadabhai Naoroji? Services which have been given to you lovingly and ungrudgingly from year's end to year's end. Now all that you have to do is to relieve those good and great friends of the country, of the constant wear and anxiety which they feel from want of punctual remittance of money on account of the British Committee. All that you are wanted to do is to relieve their minds free from that difficulty and let them work for the success of those schemes, — for the regeneration of your countrymen, which they have so much at heart. Gentlemen, I say, look at it from that point of view. I have no doubt you will consider it to be your duty in your own self-interest apart from all considerations, to give the proposal your heartiest support (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen, put aside all considerations of gratitude. These considerations we rightly reserve for higher purposes, for higher reflections than reflections in connection with maintaining a paper which is the organ of the Congress party. I submit, gentlemen, that in this

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connection you have merely to consider whether you can do without the organ, without the representative committee, and if you cannot, then what is the best way of keeping this organ? I am perfectly aware—I myself was one of the committee which met at Allahabad, of the complaint with regard to “India” which had been agitated on that occasion. I am perfectly aware also that there are many friends, well meaning, honest well wishers of the country and some Anglo-Indian officials who are real friends of the Congress have expressed their dissatisfaction in the way in which “India” is sometimes edited. Gentlemen, is this a reason of doing away with “India,” or to improve it? You have a perfect right to make your representation to the committee, you have a perfect right to make your contribution in the form you think best to improve the paper. You have in your power to make it really a paper of usefulness in this country. Now gentlemen all that is now for us is that a large number of our people should subscribe the paper, and then gentlemen, you will have no more anxiety for supplying funds to the British Committee, and I think this at least may be expected of us; gentlemen, all those senior friends, all those past Presidents, who have spoken on this occasion, referred to the complaint that has been made from time to time that the older leaders of the congress are not as much in confidence as they used to be. Gentle-

men, that complaint will claim but little grace from us, younger men; I ask you in this vast assembly to name one young Indian however, bright, confident, earnest a patriot he may be,—I ask you to name one single individual who can be compared with our grand old man Dadabhai Naoroji in the energy, in the devotion which he still brings to bear upon the great cause of this country. I ask you again to name one who, while blessed with youth and vigour, is able to continue his continual devotion and his attention to the cause of this country as much as Mr. Allen Hume has been devoting even in his illness. (Hear, hear.) I ask you again to name a gentlemen who bearing the blame which his own country has heaped upon him to bear the expenses which has involved upon him, has been working in Parliament and out of Parliament incessantly for the good of this country,—which after all is not his own country but only a country on which he has given his affection, than Sir William Wedderburn. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, coming to other senior leaders, respected and honoured leaders of the Congress, where are the men who have paid as much attendance, as much money in the Congress fund as these respected and revered leaders here you see on the platform. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, the way to the Congress is to show them that you are doing your duty at least as valiantly, as nobly as they did in their own time. Gentlemen,

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if we do, this I have not the least doubt about the continuity, about the healthy existence of the Indian National Congress.

This is the 17th Session. It will continue to meet year after year, and it will continue to do good work in increasing measure. (Hear hear.) All that is wanted is we should, while we attend the Congress, while we are in the sacred pandal, appreciate properly and take wisely to heart the great duty that lies upon each and every one of us. Gentlemen, I commend this resolution to your hearty acceptance, and I hope that, Sir, this time, you will not merely pass this resolution but take measures that you will carry it out even to the letter (Loud Cheers.)

REPRESSIVE MEASURES IN BENGAL

In moving the following resolution of the Twenty first Indian National Congress held at Benares in 1905 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :—Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen :—The resolution which the Committee have done me the honour of entrusting to me reads as follows :—

“ That this Congress records its earnest and emphatic protest against the repressive measures which have been adopted by the authorities in Bengal, after the people there had been compelled to resort to the boycott of foreign goods as a last protest, and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them of drawing the attention of the British Public to the action of the Government of India in persisting in their determination to the Partition of Bengal in utter disregard of the universal prayers and protests of the people.”

Gentlemen, the brilliant speech that you heard from my esteemed friend, Babu Surendranath Banerjee, told you all that was necessary to justify the acceptance of this resolution by you. You speak here of the repressive measures that have been adopted in Bengal. How those measures have come to be adopted is not a matter which requires to be

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told now. The Government of India, or rather Lord Curzon, determined upon the "Partition of Bengal." The people at the earliest opportunity came to know of it, submitted respectful representations against the proposal.

Memorials followed memorials, petitions were submitted, meetings of protest were held, and every constitutional means which the people were aware of, was adopted to point out to Government that absolutely no case has been made out for cutting Bengal into two, and placing it under two different administrations. All that was not heeded. People met together, they sent representations to the Secretary of State who was the next higher authority. Unfortunately that again was unheeded. People took the last step of going up to the House of Commons and submitted petitions signed by a large number of people and got some English Member of the House to support the petition. A debate was held, but nothing came out of it. Now, gentlemen, this went on for a long time. We live under a constitutional Government. The means that have been pointed out as open to those who live under a constitutional Government, were the very means which the people of Bengal adopted. There was absolutely nothing that anybody could take exception to in their methods. (Hear, hear.) They proceeded in the coolest manner without showing any passion, using every

possible argument that they could think of, and putting it in the most moderate language possible. (Hear, hear) Gentlemen, some evil genius guided the intellect of those who were in power at the time. They turned a deaf ear to all representations that were so made. They determined upon the "Partition of Bengal." I will not go into the history of the matter as it has been so brilliantly put before you by previous speakers in connection with the other resolution. The result was that people waited. There was absolutely no show of violence even up to this time. Though people's passions have been excited to the uttermost, yet the Government heeded not. Gentlemen, any other people driven to that desperate condition would probably have taken steps worse than those that were adopted in Bengal. Be it said to the credit of our countrymen in Bengal (cheers) that on an occasion when their feeling had been stirred to their deepest depths, when the whole Province of Bengal had been agitated as no part of India had been agitated after the days of the Mutiny, be it said to the credit of the young men of Bengal (cheers), that in the midst of so much excitement not one case has been proved in which they have resorted to illegal or unjust means with the objects of getting redress. Gentlemen, the Government which was anxious to carry on the administration of the country on lines of sound states-

manship would have rejoiced at the sight, and would have been moved by the very circumstance that the people were so moderate and self-restraint, even on such occasions, to accede to their demands. It was the misfortune of the Government of India that it did not listen to these demands. The result was that people found themselves in utter darkness and despair. What did they do? They found out that their voices were feeble. Even the powerful voice of our friend, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee had failed to penetrate into the ears of the powers-that-be. The best of the men in the land, the most respected members of the community, men like Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore, Sir Gurudas Banerjee, who do not love to indulge in what is called political agitation, came out to their retirement and pressed upon the Government the wisdom of listening to the prayers of the people. No response yet. People then said "what are we to do? Well, we are placed in this circumstance; very well, we shall raise another noise which probably will be carried across the waters and make a stir in England; we shall boycott foreign goods." It is an extreme measure I grant. No sensible man, no man who wishes well of his country would for a moment desire that there should be anything done to create dissension between our fellow-subjects in England and in this country. No man who understands the real needs

of the country and the situation in which we are placed, will desire that there should exist anything but cordial good-will among our fellow-subjects in England and in this country. It was, therefore, no matter of satisfaction, it could not be to any well wisher of this country, to either initiate the idea of boycott or to encourage it. It was boycott nearly as an extreme measure which they found themselves compelled under the circumstances to adopt. It was adopted as a measure which might possibly, when all other respectful representations had failed, make an impression upon some people of England and lead to the consideration of the prayers of the United Bengal. Gentlemen, a great deal of commotion was created. Remember, that it was all a peaceful commotion, it was a commotion of a law-abiding people who know what is the measure they could adopt in the circumstances they were placed. Boycott went on. After it had been adopted, after the idea had been caught, and had begun to work, came unfortunately a series of repressive measures. Men who had erred, instead of taking wisdom from the facts that have come into existence, determined to persist in their obstinacy, determined to refuse to consider whether there was any justification for people resorting to such measures. They began to persecute. Persecution is the only word that you can use for what you have heard from our friends in Bengal as having

been adopted. To appoint respectable men as special constables when there was absolutely no shadow of excuse for saying that there was any violence to authority intended or indicated; to appoint respectable members of the community, leaders, men of light and leading to that disgraceful position when nothing has been done to justify it; to abolish and take away from the doors of the people sign-boards wherever you found *Bande-Mataram*; to tell people,—advice is the word used in some of the correspondence—(laughter) advise people to leave their cities and go away in exile; to go and send a posse of policemen to watch the meeting of citizens held to consider what they should do to protest against what the authorities were doing; was there any necessity to do any of these things? Was there any indication that anybody wanted to rebel against the authority of the Government of the country? Throughout all these many months, during the whole period, there was never a single instance of any misbehaviour. The best proof of this lies in the circumstance that not a single case had occurred which could afford any justification for the adoption of such a course. Petty and frivolous excuses were found to put people into trouble, to harass them, to intimidate them, but not one single instance in which anything had been done which would have justified them to have recourse to such extreme and impolitic measures. Now gentlemen, I

may tell you that when you find a state of things like this, it ceases to be a question which concerns one Province or one district. You have been much exercised, some of you, my brother delegates, at the thought as to why this was a matter which should be taken up by the Congress. A matter which affects the whole Province of Bengal, which affects as large an area as the Province of Bengal, is not this a question for the consideration of the Congress? If injustice was done to one single individual throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire, and if we felt that that injustice ought to be remedied or protested against, it would be your duty to do so (Cheers). If you allow such an outrageous course as has been followed in Bengal to go unprotested by you, you will be failing to discharge your duty. (Cheers). It has been the misfortune of Bengal that it has happened there. Gentlemen, do not console yourselves with the idea that such misfortune may not befall another part of the country to-morrow. What you have to do is to protest against such things happening under the rule of His Majesty the King Emperor of England and India. They might happen in Russia; you and I are not concerned with them. Recourse has not been had to such measures in British Territories for a long time past. We are not anxious that these methods should be perpetuated which they would be if we allow them to go unprotes-

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ted. Gentlemen, this then is the justification for the resolution which I have placed before you.

It is not that the Congress advocates the adoption of boycott all over the country generally (Hear Hear). You have to bear it clearly in mind that no one who understands the real interests of the country desires to create any unnecessary tension of feeling between our fellow-subjects in England and here. The Government, if they are really earnest and sincere in their desire to see that this spirit which the boycott movement has created ought to subside, have the remedy in their own hands. Let them undo the great mischief which has been done by this unnecessary partition, and boycott, as a boycott, shall cease to-morrow (Cheers). Remember, gentlemen, we ought not to mix up Swadeshi with Boycott (hear hear). It is a great mistake to mix up the two. Bengal was partitioned a short while ago. But the Swadeshi movement is as old within my own personal knowledge, as 30 years ago. The doctrine was preached when I was at school, and I am happy and proud to say that I have been benefitted by it, and adopted it the moment I entered College. Since that day to this, along with many other friends even in this Province, we have been using manufactures of Indian make so far as we have been able to obtain them. That movement stands on quite a different footing, and it would be wrong to the country and

to the best interests of the people to mix up the two, to confuse the Swadeshi movement with Boycott. Speaking for myself I do not want to keep up boycott of foreign goods. What is desirable so far as the Swadeshi movement is concerned, is quite another matter. That has gone on and will go on. As far as boycott is concerned, I think I express the sense of all of you, or nearly all of you, when I say that the Congress would rejoice to see boycott come to an end, if the cause which has given rise to it were to cease to exist. It is, therefore, entirely in the power of Government to put an end to this boycott. If it continues, it continues owing to no fault of the people, owing to no disposition among the people, to keep it up. If they are wise, as I hope they will be, with the change that has come on in the Ministry. I hope that the powers-that-be will take the earliest opportunity to put an end to the feeling which has been created by this "Partition of Bengal". Gentlemen, with these few observations I beg to commend this resolution to your consideration (Cheers). With regard to one of those measures that have been adopted, I would like with your permission, to add a few words. Bande-Mataram is a very innocent exclamation. You simply say: "Hail mother-land, or I bow to thee, the mother-land." Nothing insidious, nothing poisonous and nothing seditious about it. Now, gentlemen, I am surprised that any English-

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man and son of England who has been brought up on the noble life-giving literature of England should object even for a moment to the use of *Bande-Mataram*. In the few books of literature which I had the good fortune to read, I came across a passage that Chatham in his dying moments cried out "my country, my country." Englishmen regard him with adoration. When you find Nelson sending out a message to his soldiers at a critical moment in the name of England, you admire and respect him. When you come across passages in Shakespeare where the feeling of love for the mother country is well and happily described, Englishmen rejoice as much as we do on reading those passages. Throughout the whole literature of England, as in all the literatures of the world you will find that the love for the mother-land is regarded as an indication of healthy feeling. You will find that not only no exception is taken, but if you find a man lacking in that love for mother-country, reproach is cast on his face by Sir Walter Scott, which was so well expressed by the President. That being so, I cannot understand how any Englishman who has got English feelings yet in him can really object to the use of "*Bande-Mataram*." We do not in the least degree want to encourage rowdyism either in young men or the old. The Congress does not desire that any agitation or any representation or any public demonstra-

tion that has to be made should be in the least degree affected or spoiled by exuberance of feeling. We have been taught by the Great Teacher Sri Krishna, that duty has to be done in the *Satwik* manner, doing it merely as a matter of duty, not bragging or boasting that he was doing his duty, inspired by fortitude and by enthusiasm, unconcerned about the success or failure, determined only to do his duty and to do it merely as his duty. That is the attitude in which we have to approach the question. (Cheers.) No feeling of hatred and no feeling of resentment ought to be brought into the matter. You have merely to do it as a matter of duty, and one means left to you by pointing out what you feel to Government has to be resorted. I hope the resolution that I have had the honour of placing before you will commend itself to your acceptance (Loud Cheers).

BOYCOTT MOVEMENT

In supporting the following resolution of the Twenty Second Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1906 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

Having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration, and that their representations to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the Boycott Movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the Partition of that Province was and is legitimate.

Gentlemen, the resolution that has been put forward before you requires to be clearly understood. The Congress, in adopting any resolution, takes care that its meaning shall not be liable to mis-interpretation. It takes care to express itself in clear language so that all may know what it says and what it does not say. The Congress does express its approval of the adoption of Boycott in Bengal, under the peculiar circumstances in which Bengal was placed. What were those circumstances? All other constitutional means of bringing the grievances of the people before the Government have been adopted and have proved fruitless. The prayers of the people had been unheeded. Memorials and petitions to Government have had no

effect. Then, as a last resort, Bengal declared a boycott of British goods, in order, as we most of us understood it last year, to invite the attention of the English people to the grievances under which they laboured. That was, and that is, gentlemen, I believe, accepted by a large number of our people, though, I know, not by all, as a legitimate way for drawing the attention of the Government under which we live, to the grievances which we labour under. Gentlemen, the Congress does not, I am certain,—speaking certainly for a large number of delegates of different Provinces—I declare emphatically that the Congress does not associate itself with the remarks of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal (cries of “yes,” and “no, no,” and “why not;” and great disorder prevailed). You will please hear me (a voice: “I want to know the reason”). You will hear the reason, I say again, I repeat it on behalf of a large number of delegates of the United Provinces (cries of “all, all”) Thanks—and on behalf of a large number of delegates from other Provinces (cries of “no, no” and “yes, yes”). If it comes to a division, and I am prepared for a division, my words will be proved to be literally true (hear, hear). Let us proceed constitutionally (“speak for yourself”). There is no good crying “yes” or “no”. I say again that a large number of delegates from other Provinces (cries of “no, no” and “yes, yes”)—the “yes

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yes', give the 'no' to your "no" no's,"—a large number of delegates wish to dissociate themselves from the remarks of Mr. Pal, that this boycott is not confined to British goods but that it also extends to the boycott of honorary offices and that it goes beyond. It is easy for people, who have taken that resolution, to talk like that, but the country, as a whole, will repudiate that sentiment (cries of "no, no", and "yes, yes"). Now let it be clearly understood that in this Congress, there is a large body of delegates—you can count them if you like—who do not approve of any such boycott as Mr. Pal has proposed (cries of "no, no" and "yes, yes"), while we again and clearly express our view that under the circumstances in which Bengal was placed, boycott was, and is legitimate. We do not go further and we hope the time will never arrive, when other Provinces will be driven to the necessity of extending the boycott. We hope—and I live in hopes of better times—we are entitled to say so,—there is reason for it,—I live in hopes of better days for my country, knowing, as we do that we are placed under the British Government, knowing, as we do, that we cannot live, if we boycott everything that is English. I hope that the time will never come, when the country will be driven, as a matter of protest or necessity, to extend boycott all over the country. I hope that better days are in store for us, that our rulers will listen to the reasonable prayers that are submitted to them (cheers), in a reasonable spirit, and I hope and firmly believe that it is by these reasonable representations that we shall get all the reforms we hope for, and that we shall succeed in our efforts (Cheers).

SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

IN seconding the following resolution of the ~~Twenty~~ second Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1906, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries, and to stimulate the production of indigenous articles, by giving them preference over imported commodities even at some sacrifice.

Brother delegates, I have very great pleasure in seconding the resolution. I have every hope that you will carry it with acclamation. I am sure of that. Of all the resolutions which have been laid before the Congress, there is none which needs less of supporting, less to be said about, to commend it for your acceptance than this resolution. As you have been told, the Swadeshi movement is an *old* movement in this country. It is not born either of Partition or after Partition and it is extremely desirable that this should always be looked upon as entirely independent of any political considerations. When political considerations come in, you pass your resolutions without mincing matters ; but where you deal with a question which is more of economic importance than political, bring a mind free from all other considerations to a consideration of this. (A voice "louder please"). I have had to shout out so much during the last

few days that I cannot speak louder! Well, gentlemen, what does Swadeshi mean? There is a lot of misunderstanding about it. What is Swadeshi? The Swadeshi movement is a movement to promote the use of manufactures of our own country and to promote the growth of the manufactures of our own country. How does it arise, and why does the movement arise? It is born of our poverty. It is born of the industrially weak and deplorable position which we are placed in. Prosperous countries, like England, will not for a moment think of starting a Swadeshi movement. If they happen to be driven to face, for a time, an unfavourable position, they will, of course, resort to Swadeshi movement; but, at present, the countries which are industrially prosperous and thriving will not think of the Swadeshi movement. What is it that drives us to think of it? As I have said before, our extreme and deplorable poverty. The condition of the people is most deplorable. Millions die of famine; millions fall victims to plague; millions never attain to manhood, but die slow, premature deaths by reason of not being able to get sufficient to live upon. That is the condition of the people! The one cause of it is that poverty about which we have been speaking so incessantly for these many years. There is no question that deaths from famine are preventible, deaths from plague are preventible. I say so from personal knowledge of what happened in my own city where people who moved out of the city to live in what is called the Civil Station where bungalows have been built, they were free from plague. Deaths from famine and plague are all the results of poverty. How is that poverty brought

about? "You know that 20 crores have to be paid every year in the shape of salaries, and pensions, etc.. That is one large drain, no doubt, of the country's wealth; and you know that there is a much larger drain in the shape of the price that is paid for manufactures. Now, the total exports of the country are about 120 crores; the total imports are, roughly speaking, 85 crores. You will find, then, that articles of foreign manufacture, of great and immense value, are flooding the markets of the whole country. These have to be paid for. The raw-material of the country is exported and after being finished in other countries, it is brought back and we have to pay tremendous prices for it! That is another very large drain. It is eating the vitals of the Nation. Our position is easily understood when you find that the annual income of our people per head of population is only £ 2 a year, as against £ 40 in England. That being so, the question arises what are we to do? Of course, if we had a potent voice in the administration of the country, I am sure, we should have rejoiced to introduce Protection. We have it not. England did so when it was necessary to do so. The United States of America did so, Australia did so, Germany did so and every country has adopted Protection in order to let its nascent industries grow. But we are situated differently.

The Government cannot easily be persuaded to adopt Protection for this country, because England is a Free-trader. Ever since, England attained the advantageous position of being able to put its own manufactures at great advantage into other countries' markets. That being out of question,

you have, to see what you can do to help yourselves. Herein lies the great difficulty and the great opportunity. You can really and truly help yourselves immensely in this matter by promoting the Swadeshi movement. We are asking for Self-government and we are asking for many other privileges. It may be that we may obtain them soon, or it may be that we may obtain them after a long time, but in this matter of promoting the Swadeshi movement there is absolutely no bar which stands in our way. It is our solemn duty to promote it. What do we do to promote it? Australians found not long ago that they could not compete with other foreign people in the matter of manufactures; Australians, with open eyes, resolved to purchase country-made cloths which were coarse and which were dear in preference to cloths of foreign manufactures (hear hear). Not only that; but, when there was a depression of trade in England in 1882, Lord Dunraven, if I remember aright, raised a great debate in the House of Lords, actually advocating the adoption of the policy of Protection. The *Pioneer* advocated the adoption of the "Swadeshi vow" by Englishmen. It actually said that if Englishmen want to find food for their own countrymen, who are starving for want of food they will have to resort to such a movement. That being so, the duty is plain before you. There is not a man, not a sensible man, who can take objection to it, and we need not be concerned with the opinions of those who are not sensible. Now, gentlemen, I look upon it as a part of a religious duty, which we owe to our fellowmen. I consider it the Religion of Humanity and our own particular religion; the Religion of Humanity

demands that you should promote the Swadeshi movement to the utmost extent of your power. In purchasing a piece of cloth manufactured by a countryman of mine, I have often felt and am feeling now, that I am helping him to obtain at least a morsel of food to enable him to live (cheers). The yarn may have come from a foreign country, but the labour he had bestowed upon it, will surely enable him to get a portion, half the price or one-third or some portion of the gain in order to feed himself and those that depend upon him. When you find such terrible suffering around you, when you find the drain so great and the income of the people so small, their resources so poor, I say, it is a religious duty cast upon every man of healthy feelings to promote, to the utmost extent, the production of Indian manufactures by giving them preference, wherever he can find them, over foreign commodities, even at some sacrifice (cheers). Gentlemen, the idea of sacrifice sanctifies the resolution ! It is involved in it :—you may express it in words or you may not express it, it involves the idea of sacrifice. Unless you are prepared to do that, where will you stand ? I will only tell you what the consequences are, what are the forces arrayed against you that you have partially to combat against. The Germans have partially destroyed the indigo-manufacture. The Germans are flooding the markets with foreign sugar ; $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores worth of sugar was imported into this country last year. There is enough of sugar-cane growing in this country. Do you imagine, for a moment, what the importation of sugar to the value of $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores means to your people ? (At this stage the President sounded

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the gong). It means that thousands upon thousands of the people have been thrown out of employment and have added to the number of those who are living on insufficient food. Will you allow this kind of things to continue without doing your utmost to check it or prevent it? Then, the question arises : How to checkmate it? I look upon it that it is a sacred duty to do, the utmost we can, not merely by using Indian-made articles, but that time has come when capitalists must be induced to come forward to invest money in introducing machinery, in trying to produce manufactures just as they are produced in foreign countries. The educated men and men of capital must combine to bring about the growth of Indian industries. There must also be the utmost encouragement given to the consumption of Indian-made articles in order that capitalists might readily be induced to build up more industries. Gentlemen, I do not think that there can be two opinions as to the result of this movement. There is no element of ill-will or hatred involved in the Swadeshi movement. We love to promote it, because it is our duty to our suffering countrymen to do the utmost we can for them. There is no political bias, no political feeling involved in this matter. I hope and trust that it will be worked up in that spirit and working in that spirit, it is a sacred duty which rests upon us not to throw away lightly and help which we can receive from any direction in building our industries or in promoting the Swadeshi movement. Speaking personally, I say, I thank those who contribute in any small or in any measure at all, to the building of the

SPEECHES OF PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

Swadeshi movement. The Government have done something. They have started the Commerce and Industrial Department. Let us hope that some good will result from it. It is our duty that we must not throw away help which we cannot substitute with something else. Government's help and people's help must all be combined,—must be combined in one sacred effort to find more bread and employment for the people to diminish the poverty which is eating up any number of our people, (at this stage the President again sounded the gong) and to promote the Swadeshi movement.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT

In supporting the Resolution on Swadeshi Movement of the Conference held at Surat in December 1907, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:—I have very great pleasure in supporting this Resolution. It is hardly necessary to make any appeal to you in the cause of Swadeshi. I consider it as a dispensation of Providence that the minds of our people have for some time past been more and more directed towards the Swadeshi Movement. Among all the factors which you think to be calculated to improve the condition of the people and bring back prosperity to the people, the Swadeshi Movement is one of the highest importance. Patriotism needs it, humanity dictates it, and every possible consideration that you can have will enforce the carrying out of the Swadeshi Movement in the most earnest spirit, not only now but for a long time to come. Gentlemen, there was when this country, this very city of Surat, in particular, was renowned in the world for her excellent industries. The condition of things has changed; the wheel of prosperity is down. The condition of Indian looms and Indian artizans is now changed. We now get almost every article, however small from Europe, articles for our daily use. Well, we should feel very sore about it. We ought to be extremely active in changing the condition of things prevailing here. There is dire distress prevalent

in the country at this moment. I need not remind you of the suffering which is being undergone in almost all parts of the country by the vast number of our aged and our poor belonging to the lower and middle classes. Famine now comes in every third year ; during the last ten years we have had so many famines, and during the last century we have had so many more. We have lost a vast number of our people, simply because even in this land of plenty, where corn grows anywhere, in this land of fertility which produces more corn than would be needed to feed all its population, there is no money in the pockets of people to enable them to buy the corn which they find in the market ; and they therefore die of starvation. The question of famine is not a question of want of grain. Sufficient grain is grown in this country. The question of famine is a question of there not being sufficient money in the pockets of the people, to enable them to purchase grain. Among all the solutions which have been suggested, the recommendation of the last famine commission and of the previous famine commissions is one of the greatest importance for preventing famines. They say : " Build up the strength of the people by reviving industries and find other avenues than agriculture for the people to depend upon." How can you do that except by trying your very utmost religiously and not merely as a matter of retort ; not as a matter of expression of feeling of dissatisfaction, but as a matter of duty to humanity and as a matter of religious duty to your country that you should become Swadeshis, not in one or two, but in every single concern throughout

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your lives. There is no country in which there is greater room for service to one's country than this unfortunate land. There is no land which I can think of where you can render greater service to humanity than this land of poverty stricken people. It is your duty to enable them to earn some money in order that they may be able to get the food which they require, that the Swadeshi cause is growing is a matter for rejoicing. I fear it is not growing as much as is commensurate with the needs of the people. We hear a great deal of talk about Swadeshi, but I don't know that our people have realised it to be a duty which they owe to their country. Remember that it is a duty which you owe to your nation. Remember that it is the duty which other nations have realised and have practised and profited by it. England recognised it many years ago. America recognised it, and Australia recognised it. They have all been profited by it. They believe it to be their duty to practice Swadeshi. England is proud of it, at this moment. You must acknowledge that many of the articles made in England are superior to the articles made in other countries. An Englishman is naturally proud of selecting articles of English make. A Japanese feels naturally proud to select articles of Japanese make, if he can get it. Well, time may yet be distant when you will feel naturally proud to select articles made in India, articles which will compare favourably with articles of European and American make. Don't use articles of foreign make of very good polish and very cheap if you can get articles of Indian make. Purchase those articles which will put some money into the pockets.

of your brethren in this country. Remember that thereby you are trying to put food into the mouths of some hungry people. I have seen in my own city of Allahabad where I purchase a towel worth six annas coarser and probably dearer than the towel which I could purchase of foreign make; but in doing so I have the great satisfaction of knowing that the man who is selling will probably be able to retain half of the money with him and that it will help him to have at least one meal throughout the 24 hours. Therefore, let us not be content with using Swadeshi articles when they are as fashionable as are the articles of English and foreign make. Let us purchase articles which are coarser and dearer if we can afford to purchase them. Let us purchase articles of Indian make wherever we can get them, not from any other consideration, but from a higher consideration of finding some food for some hungry mouth or some clothing for some naked brother or sister who is perishing in the cold in this season of famine. At this moment I cannot tell you how many thousands of my countrymen in the North are dying of starvation and how many thousands are dying because they have not sufficient clothing to protect themselves from the severe cold of the season. Government is evidently doing as much as it is possible to prevent starvation and to relieve distress, but it is not possible to do all that the situation requires when the population is so generally poor. It is your duty to help the people in the distressed parts of the country. Even the little help that you will give will save several lives or, at any rate, prolong them. In drawing your attention to it at this

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moment, I trust the appeal will not go in vain. We have been clamouring about the inactivity of Government. Let us be active and carry on the noble work of relieving distress. That is our duty at this moment. Let us recognise that we have no organised system of relief for feeding our countrymen. We must put aside other considerations like the political and educational,—all other considerations for a moment from our minds and begin to bestir ourselves to appeal to those who can spare money for supplying a little food and a little clothing for those that need it in the different provinces of India. To work up the Swadeshi cause is not a mere fad, nor a political passion; it is a matter which leads to the prosperity of the country. Help it in all possible directions and by all possible means, discarding the idea of strife, and cutting off from your minds all thought of personal predominance, personal ascendancy, or personal honor. Discard such idea in order to do good service to your people. Help the Swadeshi cause so that you may enable the poor people of all parts of India to find food and clothing for themselves. (Loud cheers.)

THE SITUATION.

ON SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The following is the substance of the speeches delivered in Hindi by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, at Allahabad on Wednesday and at the Special Provincial Congress at Lucknow on 10th August 1917. Both the speeches were almost identical.

A RETROSPECT.

Sisters and brethren,—In order to understand the present political situation in India it is necessary to take a survey of the past which has led up to it. In doing so we must remember that the two great communities which inhabit India, the Hindu and the Mahomedan, are inheritors of two ancient civilizations. The Hindus ruled over this empire for thousands of years and attained a high degree of civilization which compared favourably with the other civilizations of the past or the present. When the Mahomedans came to India they brought with them their own special civilization, which had left its mark in Europe, and settled down in this country as its permanent inhabitants. Their best representatives achieved a high degree of success in the administration which they established here. Thus until a little over 150 years ago, when the British established a footing in India, with a short interval India had

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been governed mainly by its own people. And even to-day nearly one-third of India is being governed by Indians. In the face of these facts it is absurd for anybody to suggest that Indians are not fit for governing themselves. But like every other great country India passed through a period of national decadence. It was at such a time that the representatives of certain European nations endeavoured to obtain political power in India. Of these the English were successful in doing so. They were distinguished among all the nations of Europe for having a liberal and popular system of administration. They were the first in modern history to establish the principle of the government of the people by the people on a sound and unshakable basis. Other nations of Europe and America and Japan have taken their lessons in parliamentary government from England and prospered under it. Indians reconciled themselves to the English system of administration because it was based on liberal principles. So long as the administration of what had come to be British India was in the hands of the East India Company, the Charter which that company held from the English Parliament was limited to the short period of 20 years. Every time the charter had to be renewed, that Parliament made an enquiry into the administration of the country to satisfy itself that their administration of India was carried on in a manner calculated to promote the moral and material well-being of its inhabitants. On one of such occasions, in 1833 an Act was passed by the English Parliament which laid down that natives of India shall without distinction of race or creed be admitted to the highest

offices in the public services of their country for which their education and character qualified them. When after the mutiny in 1858 the Government of India passed directly under the Crown, the great Queen of England, speaking as the representative of the people of the United Kingdom, gave solemn pledges to the people of India that they would be regarded as the equal fellow-subjects of the British people. When the Government of India Bill of 1858 was under discussion in Parliament objection was taken to it on the ground that the principle of popular representation had not been recognised in the measure. It was urged that there was no better security for good government than national representation and 'the free expression of public opinion'. But it was said in reply that 'national representation you cannot at present have in India'. But education was to be promoted and Indians were to be employed in high offices with the view, among other reasons, to fit them for the anticipated enlargement of their political powers. It was thus made clear that the intention was gradually to let the people of India have their proper share in governing themselves through their representatives.

CONGRESS DEMAND FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Under the Indian Councils Act which was passed in 1861 some Indians were appointed as members of the Legislative Council, but their presence counted practically for nothing, and as education advanced Indians began to feel that the affairs of their country were not being properly administered and would not be so administered unless and

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until they were allowed a proper share in the administration. The very first Indian National Congress, which met at Bombay in 1885 gave expression to this general conviction in its third resolution. Speaking in support of that resolution our revered countryman Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said that 'they had learnt from the English people how necessary representation is for good government'; without it 'what good is it to India to be under the British sway. It will be simply another Asiatic despotism..... We are only British drudges or slaves.' At its second session, which was presided over by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Congress recorded its fixed conviction that the introduction of representative institutions would prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people, and that the reform and expansion of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils had become essential alike in the interests of India and England. The Congress put forward a definite, well considered scheme of such reform. It is important to recall the essential features of that scheme. Not less than one-half of the members of such enlarged councils were to be elected. Remember, this was thirty years ago. Not more than one-fourth were to be officials having seats *ex-officio* in the councils, and not more than one-fourth were to be nominated by Government. All legislative measures and all financial questions including all budgets, whether they involved new or enhanced taxation or not, were to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these councils. The decisions of the Legislative Councils were to be ordinarily

binding upon the Executive Government, but the Executive Government was to possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the council in every case in which in its opinion the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision. It was provided, however, that whenever this power was exercised a full exposition of the grounds on which this had been considered necessary should be published within one month, and in the case of local Governments they should report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of the latter, it was similarly to report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such case, on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, a Standing Committee of the House of Commons was to consider the matter, and, if needful, report thereon to the full House. You will note that in its essential features that scheme was similar to the one that was adopted last year by the Congress and the Muslim League as a definite step towards self-government. In moving the resolution by which it was recommended, our esteemed countryman Mr. Surendranath Banerjea said in 1886: 'Self-Government is the ordering of nature, the will of Divine Providence. Every nation must be the arbiter of its own destinies—such is the omnipotent fiat inscribed by nature with her own hands and in her own eternal book. But do we govern ourselves? The answer is No. Are we then living in an unnatural state? Yes, in the same state in which the patient lives

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under the ministrations of the physician.' Other speakers spoke in similar strain.

You know what happened afterwards. At the request of the Congress Mr. Bradlaugh introduced a Bill in Parliament to bring about a reform of the Legislative councils. Thereupon the Government introduced a Bill which became law in 1892 by which the Councils were somewhat reformed. The reform, however, did not satisfy the needs of the country, and in 1905 our lamented brother Mr. Gokhale, speaking as President of the Congress at Benares, urged the further enlargement of the imperial and provincial councils and an expansion of their powers. He said that the goal of the Congress was that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves and that in course of time a form of government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire. In the following year, Mr. Dadabhai-Naoroji, presiding in his 82nd year at the Congress at Calcutta, spoke in clearer and more emphatic language of the pressing need of the introduction of self-government in India. The whole of his address deserves to be read and re-read many a time. He claimed for Indians in India all the control over the administration that Englishmen had in England. He urged that this was a necessity if the great economic evil which was at the root of Indian poverty was to be remedied and the progress and welfare of the Indian people was to be secured. "The whole matter," said our Grand Old Man, "can be comprised in one word, self-

government, or Swaraj, like that of the United Kingdom or the colonies." In concluding his memorable address, our late revered countryman said : ' Self-government is the only and chief remedy. In self-government lie our hope, strength and greatness...I do not know what good fortune may be in store for me during the short period that may be left to me, and if I can leave a word of affection and devotion for my country and countrymen, I say : Be united, persevere and achieve self-government so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plague, and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore among the greatest and civilized nations of the world.'

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji did not say that complete self-government should be introduced at once. ' Has the time arrived ' asked he, ' to do anything loyally, faithfully and systematically as a beginning at once, so that it may automatically develop into the full realization of the right of self-government ? ' And he answered : ' Yes. Not only has the time fully arrived, but, had arrived long past, to make this beginning...If the British people and statesmen make up their mind to do their duty towards the Indian people they have every ability and statesmanship to devise means to accord self-government within no distant time. If there is the will and the conscience there is the way.'

It was in response to our agitation that the.

MINTO-MORLEY REFORMS

were introduced in 1909. They fell far short of the require-

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ments of the situation, but we accepted them as a liberal instalment of the reforms needed to give the people a substantial share in the management of their affairs. But the experience of four years of the working of the reformed councils, showed the utter helplessness of the representatives of the people in those councils and a desire for a further substantial measure of reform began again to be urged at the Congress and in the press.

The desire for a substantial step towards self-government continued to express itself more and more in an emphatic manner in the years that followed. In the Congress that was held at Bombay in 1915, the president—Sir S. P. Sinha—urged that the only satisfactory form of government to which India aspires 'is government of the people, for the people and by the people'.

You will thus see that the cry for self-government was not raised merely during the present war and because of it, but is at least as old as the Indian National Congress itself. I have dwelt at such length upon this aspect of the question because efforts have been made in some quarters to create a prejudice against our proposals by the unfounded assertion that the cry for self-government or home-rule was for the first time raised by Mrs. Besant two years ago and has since been taken up by the Congress. Mrs. Besant has done perhaps more than any other person during the last twelve months to carry on an active propaganda in support of the scheme of self-government passed by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League. But she has not put forward any new or separate

scheme of her own. There are not different schemes of the Indian National Congress and of the Moslem League and of the Home Rule League before the country and the Government. There is but one scheme, and that is the scheme jointly adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League. The Home Rule League has declared that it is carrying on a propaganda in support of the Congress and Moslem League scheme. If anybody is to blame for that scheme, it is the Congress and the Moslem League and not the Home Rule League. But this is by the way.

OTHER DEMANDS.

From what has been stated above it is clear that Indians had been endeavouring for nearly a generation to obtain a real measure of self-government in their country's affairs when the present war broke out in Europe. She had also been complaining for thirty years that the invidious distinction which the Government made between Indians and Europeans in the military administration of the country should be obliterated. She had long and repeatedly asked that the unmerited slur which the Arms Act, as at present administered, cast upon Indians and the disadvantages to which it exposed them should be removed and that the rules under the Act should be suitably modified to achieve these objects. She had asked that the commissioned ranks in the Indian army should be thrown open to all classes of Indian subjects to reasonable physical and educational tests, and that a military college or colleges should be established in India where proper military training should

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be given to Indians. She had asked that Indians should be allowed to join or raise volunteer corps as their European fellow-subjects were allowed to do. These were some of the other long standing grievances of India when the war broke out.

THE IMPETUS OF THE WAR.

At the outbreak of the war His Majesty the King-Emperor was pleased to send a gracious message to the princes and people of India that he had entered upon the war in defence of treaty rights and obligations and the cause of justice and liberty and the unmolested independent existence of nations, small and great. The princes and people of India loyally responded to His Majesty's appeal to stand up to fight for the right and the Empire. India will ever be grateful to Lord Hardinge for the courage, sympathy and statesmanship which he showed in deciding to send the Indian Expeditionary Force to Europe to fight for the King and the Empire at a critical period of the war. India's loyal response and the splendid heroism of her sons in the battlefield won the hearty admiration and just appreciations of the leading members of the two Houses of Parliament, and of the press of England.

Such was the situation.

WHAT DID IT DEMAND

of the Government of India ? In view of the splendid rally of India to the cause of the Empire, the first thing it demanded was that all invidious distinctions between the Indian and European fellow-subjects of His Majesty should

once for all be obliterated. But it was a matter for deep regret that except the limited unencouraging opening made under the Indian Defence Force Act, these distinctions remain as they were before the war broke out. Along with many others I have been urging for the last three years that commissions in the Indian army should be thrown open to Indians. I have been repeatedly told that the matter has been under consideration. I cannot but regret that the consideration has been so prolonged. The matter is one of simple justice. Expediency also demands that the exclusion of which Indians have so long complained should no longer continue to hurt and discourage them, particularly in view of the fact that the end of the war is not yet in sight and that there may yet be an unending call upon Indians to fight for the King and the country. For the same reasons the rules under the Arms Act which have produced a deplorably emasculating effect upon a large section of the people should be suitably modified. It is also essential that the recommendations which were made in the shape of amendments to the Indian Defence Force Bill and which were unfortunately rejected should be accepted by Government and provision made for the military training of Indian youths between the ages of 16 and 18 as has been made in the case of Europeans, and for the enrolment of Indians of higher age for local military service as also had been made in the case of Europeans.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

As regards constitutional reforms, the Congress and

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the Moslem League have recommended that His Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-government on India at an early date. In view of the pronouncements of responsible statesmen of England and some of the highly placed officials in this country I cannot understand why the Government cannot make such a pronouncement at once as there is evidently no serious difference of opinion about self-government being the goal of British policy in India.

As regards the definite steps towards self-government which the Congress and the Moslem League have recommended should be taken after the war, there is no doubt a difference of opinion between some of the officials of the Government and the representatives of the public. The difference reduces itself in reality to a question of the pace at which progress should be made towards self-government. One should have thought that such a difference of opinion would not lead to a quarrel. But unfortunately this has not been so. There are some highly placed officials in the Government of India and in several of the local Governments who evidently think that the proposals of the Congress and the Moslem League in this direction are extravagant. His Excellency the Viceroy has told us that he and his councillors were engaged for six months during the last year in framing proposals of reform which in their opinion should be adopted at the end of the war and which they have submitted to the Secretary of State for the consideration of His Majesty's Government. Judging

from the utterances of several provincial Governors these proposals seem to be of a minor character and to fall far short of the demands of the Congress. The public do not yet know what those proposals are. Our repeated request that they should be published has not been granted. They know that those proposals have been pressed upon the Secretary of State for his acceptance. It therefore clearly became our duty to carry on an educative and demonstrative propaganda in support of the proposals which the Congress and the Moslem League have jointly placed before the Government.

If the scheme of reforms which we have urged is adopted in full at the end of the war, as we desire it should be, it will not alter the form of our Government. It will not break up the existing machinery and replace it with something new. The institutions and departments which exist will continue. But what will happen will be that, except in certain non-domestic matters, the voice of the Legislative Council, which will contain an elected majority of members, shall ordinarily prevail over the voice of the executive Government, that all financial proposals shall be laid before the Legislative Council and passed by it; and that in the Executive Council half the number of members shall be Indians. It is true that if these changes are adopted the character of the Government will be radically altered. To the extent it will be, it will become a representative Government but no untoward results need be apprehended from it. The Viceroy will have the power to veto any decision of the Legislative Council whenever he will deem it fit in public

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interest to do so. If this safeguard should not be considered sufficient to allay apprehension and to inspire confidence among our English fellow-subjects, further reasonable safeguards can be provided. But there is nothing in our proposals which can justify an attitude of anger and alarm on the part of any of our European fellow-subjects. I was amused to hear the other day that one of these—and a quite sober and respectable gentleman he—said that he did not object to our desiring home-rule for ourselves but that he objected to his being placed under our rule. Well, nobody will force him into that position. If he is not prepared to live and work with us as an equal fellow-subject, he will be quite free to quit our country. But the steps towards self-government which we desire to be taken after the war, will not yet convert the Government of India into an Indian Government. They will convert it into a mixed Government of Indians and Englishmen. We are not working for a separation from England. We desire that even when full self-government has been established in India, the connection between India and England should continue for our mutual advantage. There is nothing in that idea to hurt our national sentiment. The most powerful of nations have found it necessary or advantageous to maintain friendly alliances with other nations. But whether our connection with England will continue will depend very much on the attitude of our British fellow-subjects towards us. Nor is there any occasion for those of our European fellow-subjects who are engaged in trade and commerce, to be alarmed at our proposals. If they are carried out and, if we get a fair

chance of promoting the trade and prosperity of our country, we shall be able to do much greater trade with each other than we do at present. The history of several countries proves this beyond question.

REPRESSION.

But unfortunately some of the advocates of the official proposals seem to have been so convinced of the reasonableness of their own proposals, and of the extreme undesirability of the proposals of the Congress that they seem to have thought it their duty to use their official authority to discourage agitation in support of the popular proposals. I have not seen the circular which the Government of India are said to have issued to provincial Governments. But I have no doubt in my mind that such a circular was issued and that several provincial Governments based upon it the policy of repression which they have followed. It is also my conviction that the order of internment passed against Mrs. Besant and Mr. Arundale and Mr. Wadia was passed in pursuance of that policy. I do not say that Mrs. Besant never wrote anything which was open to legal objection nor do I say that she did. What I do say is that if she infringed the law in speaking or writing, and if the infringement was serious enough to deserve action being taken upon it, she should have been proceeded against according to the ordinary law of the land. I consider that in proceeding as the Madras Government did against her and her two colleagues, they had abused the power which they possessed under the Defence of India Act.

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The Defence of India Act was clearly meant to be used against the enemies of the Government. I do not believe and Indians generally do not believe that Mrs. Besant is an enemy of the British Government. It is in this view that a feeling of great injustice is rankling in the public mind and it will continue to do so until she and her colleagues are released. It would be evidence of strength and not of weakness on the part of Government, if out of deference to Indian public feeling, it would cancel the order of internment in question. It should similarly cancel the orders of internment under which Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali have so long been deprived of their freedom of movement, without any definite charge being formulated and proved against them.

We are often told that we ought not to agitate while the war is going on. Everyone will agree that those who are really busy with work connected with the war should not be disturbed. But how many people are really absorbed in work connected with the war? A war cabinet has replaced the ordinary British cabinet and has set a number of British statesmen free to consider and work out many proposals of reform, even constitutional reform of a far-reaching character. The Electoral Reform Bill has been passed. The Irish problem is nearing solution. Various committees have been busy formulating schemes for the development of British trade after the war and schemes of improved national education. In India also it is but a few who are really so absorbed in work connected with the war as not to be able to devote

time to other questions. His Excellency the Viceroy and his councillors did find time to formulate proposals of reform. Owing to the war activity in several departments has been curtailed, and I hope I am not wrong in thinking that at no previous time did the officers of Government here find themselves so little pressed for time as many of them do at present. So far as we Indians are concerned, while we must do our duty in making such contributions to the war in men and money as we can, I shall be glad to know that outside the army there are many Indians in the country who have had the honour of any responsibility connected with the actual conduct of the war being placed upon them. Anyhow, many of us feel that as matters stand, we should be failing in our duty to our country and countrymen and to our King-Emperor if we did not do what lies in our power to press the reforms which we consider to be essential for the progress and welfare of our people upon the consideration of the Government. And this brings me to the question of

WHAT THE SITUATION DEMANDS OF US.

The first thing is a clear realization of what we desire to achieve. And the second, a firm determination to do all that is necessary to achieve it. As regards the first, I am sure that we educated men understand what self-government or home-rule means. I am equally sure that there is a vast body of our countrymen and countrywomen who have to be taught to understand what self-government means and to feel an earnest desire to obtain it. Let us remember that

our English fellow-subjects are not easy to persuade. You must convince them that not only a few but the great bulk of our people desire self-government. And in this connection I cannot do better than remind you of the earnest advice given to us by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his presidential address in Calcutta in 1906. Said our revered leader : 'While we put the duty of leading us on to self-government on the heads of the present British statesmen, we have also the duty upon ourselves to do all we can to support those statesmen by, on the one hand, preparing our Indian people for the right understanding, exercise and enjoyment of self-government, and on the other hand, of convincing the British people that we justly claim and must have all British rights. I put before the Congress my suggestions for their consideration. To put the matter in right form, we should send our "Petition of Rights" to His Majesty the King-Emperor, to the House of Commons and to the House of Lords.' 'The next thing I suggest' said Mr. Dadabhai, 'for your consideration is that the well-to-do Indians should raise a large fund of patriotism. With this fund we should organize a body of able men and good speakers, to go to all the nooks and corners of India and inform the people in their own languages of our British rights and how to exercise and enjoy them ; also to send to England another body of able speakers, and to provide means to go throughout the country and by large meetings to convince the British people that we justly claim and must have all British rights of Self-Government.'

‘Agitate, agitate over the whole length and breadth of India in every nook and corner—peacefully of course—if we really mean to get justice from John Bull. Satisfy him that we are in earnest. All India must learn the lesson—of sacrifice of money and of earnest personal work. By doing that I am sure that the British conscience will triumph and the British people will support the present statesmen in their work of giving India responsible self-government in the shortest possible period. We must have a great agitation in England as well as here.’

Further on, our grand old leader said : ‘Agitate ; agitate—means inform. Inform, inform the Indian people what their rights are and why and how they should obtain them and inform the British people and why they should grant them.’

‘The organization which I suggest, and which I may call a band of political missionaries in all the provinces will serve many purposes at once—to inform the people of their rights as British citizens, to prepare them to claim those rights by petitions and when the rights are obtained, to exercise and enjoy them.’

It was a matter of regret and reproach to us that we had not carried out this earnest advice of our revered leader so long. The Minto-Morley reforms of 1909 lulled us into the belief that we had got a liberal instalment of reform. But the experience of the last few years had shown that those reforms have not given any effective voice to the representatives of the people in the administration of the country's affairs ; and now that the need for a substantial measure of reform towards self-government is more keenly realised and

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the time forces are in a special degree favourable to the cause of freedom and self-government, I hope that we shall loyally respond to the exhortation of our departed Grand Old Man and earnestly carry on agitation for self-government on the lines indicated by him. I may here inform you that a petition to Parliament is under preparation, and will soon be ready and begin to be circulated for signatures. I trust you will obtain as large a number of signatures to it as you can. It is essential that between now and the meeting of the next Congress, we should thoroughly organize ourselves in the way suggested by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and should preach the doctrine of self-government or Swaraj in every nook and corner of our provinces. We should establish self-government or Swaraj Leagues or Home-Rule Leagues, to propagate the idea and to enlist the intelligent and earnest support of our people for our proposals. I hope you will all endeavour to carry out this idea. I expect that the next Congress which will meet at Calcutta will be attended by a very large number of people. I presume you are aware that the joint session of the All-India Congress Committee and of the Council of the Muslim League has recommended that on the day the Congress will be held in Calcutta a Congress Durbar should be held in every district at which a translation of the presidential address should be read and the resolutions on self-government which were passed by the last Congress and the Muslim League in December last at Lucknow should be adopted. I feel certain that if we shall carry out the advice of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji we shall demonstrate that we deserve

self-government and we shall win the first substantial step towards it, urged in the scheme of the Congress and the Muslim League within twelve months of the end of the present war. Right and justice are on our side. The time spirit is with us. English statesmen have acknowledged that India has freely given her lives and treasure in the cause of the Empire and that things cannot therefore be left as they are. If we do not win self-Government now the fault will be entirely ours. To ensure success it is necessary that our agitation should be universal and intense. It is equally necessary that it should be strictly constitutional. Our position is clear and strong. We are not asking for separation from England. We are asking for self-government within the Empire under the British Crown. The cause of self-government does not require to be supported by arguments showing wherein a foreign system of administration has failed. Self-government is the natural system of government. An alien government even at its best entails many inevitable disadvantages. Macaulay truly observed that 'no nation can be perfectly well governed till it is competent to govern itself'; and we are familiar with the dictum of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannermann that 'good government could never be substitute for government by the people themselves.' As Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji put it we claim self-government as our right as British subjects, and even if the British system of administration in Indian were much less open to just criticism than it is, even then we should have been justified in asking for self-government. But while we frankly

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acknowledge the good that the British Government has done us in many directions, we cannot shut our eyes to its many shortcomings. Take for instance the question of education. Think of the state of general education in India when the English came to this country and compare it with what it is at present, and you cannot but feel grateful for what has been accomplished. But consider at the same time what remains to be done in the field of education. Compare the progress in education which self-governing Japan achieved in thirty years with what has been achieved in double that period in India. In 1872, when Japan introduced its system of national education only 28 per cent. of the children of school-going age were at school ; by 1903 the percentage had risen to 90 ! it stands most higher now. In India, after nearly 60 years of the great education dispatch of 1854 and the organizations that followed the percentage of the children of school-going age is still below 20 ! For decades past we have been urging that more and more should be done for the education of the people, but the progress achieved has been woefully slow. You will remember our lamented brother Mr. Gokhale introduced his Elementary Education Bill which would have permitted elementary education being made compulsory in certain areas in certain conditions, and you will remember that the Bill was defeated by the opposition of the bureaucracy that governs us. It is surprising that we have come to the conviction that we shall never be able to properly promote the education of our people until we have a voice in the administration of our

affairs? Similarly there is much to complain of in many other departments. Let us take the question of the employment of Indians in the higher public services of the country. You know that the examination for admission into the Indian Civil Service is held in far-off England only. It is a manifest injustice to Indians. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji began an agitation in 1867 that examinations for admission into the Indian Civil Service should be held simultaneously in India and in England to enable the youths of this country to have a fair chance of competing for the higher services of their own country. But half a century of agitation has not sufficed to secure that small justice to us. The result is, as has been pointed out by my friend Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru in his recently published and excellent pamphlet on the Public Services in India, that on the 1st April 1917, out of 1,478 posts ordinarily reserved for the members of the Indian Civil Service, only 146 or about 10 per cent. were held by statutory natives of India! It hardly needs saying that if India had been governed in the interests of Indians, we should have found the very reverse of this *viz*, that 90 per cent. of the posts in question were held by Indians and only 10 per cent. by Europeans. The state of affairs out of the Indian Civil Service was hardly better. The total number of appointments, carrying a salary of Rs. 500 and upwards, was 5,390 in 1910, and of these only 17 per cent. were held by Indians and 83 per cent. by Europeans and Eurasians! This is on the civil side. So far as the army is concerned, it is entirely officered by our British fellow-subjects. Notwithstanding our repeated

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prayers, the commissioned ranks of the Indian army have never yet been opened to Indians. Notwithstanding all the fidelity, devotion and heroism with which Indians have served his Majesty and his predecessors for over a century they cannot yet rise beyond the position of subadar-major and risaldar-major !

I will draw attention to only one other matter. We appreciate at its proper value the growth of Indian trade and commerce. But it is largely in the hands of Europeans. We have not been helped to obtain our fair share in it. And our industries have not been developed as they could have been developed and as they ought to have been developed. What is it that is responsible for these and many others of our grievances ? It is the existing system of administration. Generally speaking, our English fellow-subjects who come to this country at the age of 25 or 21 and who retire from it for good at 55, cannot take that keen and abiding interest in promoting the interests of India and Indians as we Indians can do ; and, in matters where there is a conflict between the interests of India and Indians on the one side and of England and Englishmen on the other, many of them not unnaturally place the interests of their own country and people before our interests. These and many other economic and administrative considerations which vitally affect the moral and material well-being of our people and determine our political status in the scale of nations, have ingrained the conviction in us, so well expressed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, that self-government is the only and chief remedy, and that in self-government lies our hope.

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Sisters and brethren, let us now put forth a sustained effort commensurate with the depth and earnestness of this conviction for achieving that which we consider to be best for our country and our people. Let us act without fear and without reproach, doing no wrong ourselves but not desisting from our duty even if a wrong should be done to us. It is a matter for thankfulness that unlike some of the other provincial Governments the Government of these provinces have taken up the correct attitude of not interfering with constitutional agitation for self-government. I have every hope that they will continue in that attitude and that so far as these provinces are concerned there will be no unnecessary obstacles placed in our path. But notwithstanding this, and whether our work lies here or in other provinces, it is essential that in taking up serious constitutional agitation, we all should have a clear mind and a firm determination as to how we shall discharge our duty. We should take every care to do nothing that is wrong, nothing that will expose us to just reproach. But if in spite of it, trouble should overtake us in the exercise of our constitutional rights, we must suffer it with calm determination and not run away from it. If we shall so bear ourselves, I feel sure that either obstacles will not arise in our path, or if they do, they will not take long to melt. We have really no enemies to be afraid of, if we do not harbour an enemy within ourselves, which makes us slaves of fear and of personal selfish considerations. The path of our duty is clear. Let us tread it as men.

Sisters and brethren, I have detained you very long.

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but before I resume my seat I should like to say just a few words which I wish would reach the ears of our fellow subjects of the Indian Civil Service and the nonofficial European community in India. They both possess great influence and power in this country and they can influence opinion in England also. Many of them have lived long in or been connected with this country. We are entitled to claim sympathy from them in our aspirations and help and co-operation in realizing them. It is possible that some of our proposals appear to some of them as impracticable and even extravagant. We are prepared to justify them, and where we cannot, to modify them. We do not claim infallibility for our judgment. I appeal to them to approach a consideration of our proposals in a spirit of friendliness and sympathy, and to help in bringing about a change in the constitution of the Government of our country which will be in consonance with the principles of liberty, justice and the free and unmolested existence and development of every people, for which the British Empire has been making an enormous sacrifice of life and treasure and which alone can ensure the right measure of happiness and prosperity to India and glory to England. I have the privilege of knowing several men among them who, though they do not see eye to eye with us, take a large-minded view of the relations which should exist between India and England in the future, who desire that justice should be done to India's claims. I appeal to them actively to throw the weight of their influence in favour of justice and freedom. And I hope I do not appeal in vain.

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But however that may be, my countrymen, let us remember that the duty of working out our salvation lies principally upon ourselves. Let us do it faithfully and unflinchingly. Let us organize ourselves without any further loss of time, and arrange to preach the great *Mantra*, the humane religion of self-government or *Swaraj* or home-rule in every home; in all parts of our country. Let us teach every brother and sister, Hindu, Musalman, Parsi, Christian, &c., young and old, humble as well as high, to understand the meaning of self-government, to desire it and to work for it, each to the extent of his or her ability with all the earnestness he or she can. In one word, let us put our soul into the business, and God willing success will crown our efforts sooner than many of us at present imagine.

SIMULATANEOUS EXAMINATIONS.

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by the Hon. Pandit M. M. Malaviya at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on September 1917, on the question of simulataneous examinations:—

Sir I beg to move that :—

‘This council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the Government of India should move the Secretary of State to arrange that the examination for the Indian Civil Service should henceforth be held simulataneously in India and in England, successful candidates being classified in the list according to merit.

“As we all know, Sir, this question is an old one. In 1793 there was the East India Company Act passed while appointments under the East India Company were limited to certain members who had the sole right of conferring employments in the higher civil appointments in the service of the company. But when the Charter Act of 1833 came to be framed, a clause was introduced recognising the natural right of Indians to employment in the higher services of their country. That clause was described by Macaulay as ‘that wise, that benevolent that, noble clause.’ It recognised that though India had come under the dominion of England, it was the natural birth right of Indians, that if they were qualified by education and character they should be employed in all the higher offices under

the crown. In the course of the discussion that arose on the bill which subsequently became law, many excellent sentiments were expressed ; but I will invite the attention of the council to only one utterance *viz.*, that by Sir Charles Grant in which he said :—

“If one circumstance more than another could give me satisfaction, it was that the main principle of this Bill had the approbation of the House and that the House was now legislating for India and the peoples of India on the great and just principle that in doing so the interests of the people of India should be principally consulted and that the other interest of wealth of commerce and of revenue should depend upon the legislature promoting the welfare and prosperity of that great Empire which providence has placed in our hands.”

“When this great and first principle was recognised that the interest of the people of India should be principally consulted in all arrangements for the administration of this country, it was to be hoped that the employment of Indians in the higher service would come about, but not a single Indian had been appointed. When in 1853, a renewal of the charter of the company came to be discussed in Parliament, Mr. Bright, Lord Stanley and other gentlemen drew prominent attention to the fact, and it was hoped some remedy would be forthcoming ; it was not however until 1854, that the system of competitive examinations was introduced for the civil service. Hailbury, College was abolished in 1855, competitive examinations were held in 1855 ; Indians were still not able to compete after the Mutiny,

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after the Crown took the direct control of the Government of India, the pledge of 1833 was repeated and reaffirmed by the Proclamation of the Queen and in the House of Commons, that Indian subjects of Her Majesty would be entitled to hold any post if they were qualified; we all know the gracious words of the Proclamation on which I need not dwell. It was hoped after the proclamation that at any rate the claims of Indians would not be ignored but nothing came of it. In 1860, a committee was appointed by the Secretary of State to suggest the best means for admitting Indians into the service. The committee considered two proposals. The first was to allot a certain portion of the total number of posts declared in each year to be competed for by Indians in India, and the second was to hold simultaneously two examinations for the Indian Civil Service one in India and one in England, candidates sitting for either examination, having to answer the same papers to be examined by the same examiners, and to be classified in one list in order of merit. It is important to draw attention to the Report of this Committee which consisted of Sir J. Willoughby, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Macnaughten and Sir E. Perry, all of whom were all well acquainted with India. They reported as follows :—

‘Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by natives, and by all other natural-born subjects of His

Majesty resident in India. The second is to hold simultaneously two examinations, one in England and one in India both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature and those who compete in both countries being finally classified one list, according to merit, by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme as being the fairest, and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object. In order to aid them in carrying out a scheme of this nature, the Committee have consulted the Civil Service Commissioners. The Civil Service Commissioners do not anticipate much difficulty in arranging for this.' .

This Report was unfortunately not acted upon ; it was not even made public so far as I am aware, until 1876. In the meantime, in 1867, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji took up the question, and with the help of the East India Association agitated the question in Parliament. Mr. Fawcett moved a Resolution in the House of Commons urging that examinations should be held simultaneously in London, in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. He urged that unless this was done the people of India would not have a fair chance of competing for these appointments ; that if some scheme like that he urged was not carried out the promise held out in the Charter Act of 1833, and in the Proclamation of 1858, would not be faithfully fulfilled.

'It was no doubt true, said he' 'that the natives of India might compete in these examinations, but as they could only do so by coming to London, at great expense,

and then might be unsuccessful, to say that the examinations were practically open to them was an idle mockery.

His proposal was that there should be examinations at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay ; there should be the same papers and the same tests as in London, and that the successful candidates, whether English or native, should spend two years in England. There would be no difficulty in carrying out the plan for the examination papers might be sent under seal to India, and the examination being fixed for the same day as in London, the candidate's papers might be sent to England under seal and inspected by the same examiners, the name of the successful candidates at all four examinations being arranged in the order of merit.

The then Secretary of State expressed sympathy with the object of the Resolution, as has often been done in the case of questions affecting Indians, but he did not approve of the idea of holding simultaneous examinations ; he stated that he was going to introduce a Bill by which a certain number of posts would be secured to Indians. Mr. Fawcett pointed out that that would not satisfy the aspirations of Indians and would not do full justice to them but he agreed that the course proposed might be tried and withdrew his Resolution. After that the Act of 1870 was passed which empowered the Government of India to frame rules to admit Indians to a certain number of appointments in the Civil Service that proved unsatisfactory. In 1886 the Public Service Commission was appointed, and it went into the question of simultaneous examinations. A lot of evidence was given in favour of such examinations being held in

India and in England but the Commission reported against it. In 1893 in co-operation with Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, who was then a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Herbert Paul brought forward a motion urging the holding of simultaneous examinations in England and India. The Resolution was carried but unfortunately the Secretary of State was not in sympathy with it. He sent it to the Government of India. Excepting the Government of Madras all Local Government reported against it and the Government of India did not give effect to it,

Thus, though we have the statute of 1833 in our favour, though we have the proclamation of 1858 in our favour, though the committee appointed by the Secretary of State reported in favour of simultaneous examinations, and though the House of commons resolved in 1893, that such examinations should be held in the two countries, the proposal has never yet been accepted by the Government. The question of the larger employment of Indians was taken up in 1911, in this Council by my friend Mr. Subba Rao, who moved a Resolution on the subject. In consequence of that, the Royal Commission on the Public Services was appointed in 1912. Unfortunately the commission have reported against it and one more unfortunate circumstance to be mentioned in this connection is that while before the commission of 1886, a number of European gentlemen, forty-nine of them deposed in favour of simultaneous examinations, before the commission of 1913 no European witness except one spoke in favour of it.

What is worse, and has pained us most is that a

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number of European witnesses, both official and non-official seemed to delight in giving as bad a character to Indians as they could. The result is that the majority of the commission have reported against the proposal. But, Sir, our conviction is that justice will not be done to the claims of Indians unless the examinations for the Civil Service are held simultaneously in India and in England. The result of the examinations being held only in England has been that up to 1910 only 80 Indians had succeeded in entering the service by the door of examination as against over 2,600 Europeans. And out of 1,478 officers, who on the 1st April 1917, held posts ordinarily reserved for the members of the Indian Civil Service including 72 Statutory Civilians and officers of the Provincial Civil Service holding listed posts only 146, or about 10 per cent, appeared to be statutory natives of India. Surely this is not a state of things which is consistent with or carries out the spirit of the Act of 1883 or the proclamation of 1858. I think it was in the debate of 1858 one speaker had asked how many Englishmen would send their sons to India to compete for the Civil Service Examination on the off-chance of getting admission into it. Speaking in London about 1878, Mr. Bright said that to hold the examination in England alone and to tell the people of India that they had equal opportunities with Englishmen was akin to telling them that they must be eight feet six inches in height before they could be admitted into the Civil Service. In view of all that has been said above, the question is whether this recommendation of the commission is one which the Government

ought to accept, - I submit most respectfully that it ought not to.

In addition to our natural claim to which I have already referred and which has been repeatedly supported by many high-minded Englishmen, we have now a different state of things. The Government of India as it is constituted at present has been described by a member of the Indian Civil Service in a manner which brings out the disadvantages of the present system in very clear words. Sir Frederick Lely wrote in 1906 as follows.

‘ Perhaps the position may most vividly be brought home to our minds by imagining the same in England. Suppose that in England foreigners were ruling say the Japanese who committed the province to one of their statesmen who had never been in Europe before and surrounded him with a group of men of his own race who got their knowledge of the country chiefly from books and papers at Whitehall, who for the most part could not talk the English language, whose unreserved intercourse with Englishmen was limited to a few Japanese speaking callers in London, and who, when not in London, divided their time between the Scotch Highlands and the Riviera. What sort of Government would it be? it might seem admirable to the people of Tokio but would it be to the men of Yorkshire and Cornwall?’

“ I submit, Sir, that this is the result of practically refusing admission to His Majesty’s Indian subjects into the Indian Civil Service. If the examination had been held in India, since 1855, I think it is not unreasonable to

think that though our English fellow-subjects have very great advantages in the way of educational facilities, and facilities for coaching, and in the fact that the examination is held through their own mother-tongue, I think it is not unreasonable to think that there would have been a far larger proportion of Indians in the Indian Civil Service than we have at present. When in 1833 the claims of Indians to the higher ranks of the services were recognised education had made but little progress. The famous minute of Lord Macaulay had not been written, there were no colleges, no Universities but a few schools. In spite of that fact the Government of the day recognised that it was only fair that those Indians who could show that by their education, integrity and character they were qualified for admission, ought to be admitted into the higher ranks of the services. Since that time we have had universities established in several parts of India and they have turned out thousands of graduates. They have competed very successfully with their English fellow subjects in all walks of life to which they have been admitted. In the judicial line, Indian Judges have shown how high they stand both in point of character and ability; they have proved themselves to be the equals of their English brother Judges. In other directions also Indians have proved their capacity in high offices, under the British Government, in Native States, as heads of districts, as Commissioners, as members of Executive Councils, as Dewans of Indian States, those Indians who have had opportunities afforded to them or those who have been able to force admission into the service have

shown that if they are given an equal chance they are able to render a very good account of themselves. All that we have asked for in this connection from the beginning is not that we should be put on a favoured footing but that we should be put on a footing of equality. We say that if two young men are to run a race, all fair rules of the game require that we should start both of them from the same centre, and not compel one to start several miles behind the other and yet expect the man who started several miles behind the other to succeed in the competition. We want that Indian youths should be subjected to the same test to which English youths are subjected. We do not want any differentiation in that respect. What we do say is that if Englishmen are allowed to sit for the examination in their own country, Indians should also be allowed to sit in their own country for the same examination. One might very well say that the more natural, the more reasonable, the more just course would be that examinations for admission into the Civil Services of India should be held in India alone, but the time for it is not yet. In view of the present circumstances of the country, remembering how we are situated at present, in view of the difficulties that have hitherto lain in our path, and of the desire we all have that we, Indian and European fellow-subjects, should move together in brotherly co-operation, and with as little dislocation as possible our prayer at present is, as it has been for the last fifty years, that the examination for admission into the Indian Civil Service should be held simultaneously in India and in England.

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Sir, the not holding of this examination in India has exposed us to great disadvantages, political, economic and administrative. The political disadvantages are obvious. Here we are discussing the question of self-Government, and of the larger admission of Indians into the higher services. We are told we have not held charge of high offices, we have not been dealing with large problems and it is not right that we should ask to be entrusted with these problems at once. Well, if we have been shut out from these advantages, from the exercise of these high functions the fault is not ours, I submit, Sir, that it is an unreasonable proposition that because we have so long been kept out of these advantages, therefore we should be kept out of them in future.

I need not refer again to the remarks of Mr. Gokhale, to which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma referred yesterday in which he pointed out that the moral evil of the present system was even greater and more serious than the political and economic disadvantages. The people of this country desire that they should be able to feel that they stand on a footing of perfect equality with their fellow-subjects in England and the United Kingdom. That is practically denied to them by the refusal to hold the examinations simultaneously which leads to the inevitable result that but few can enter through the door in London.

So far as the economic evils are concerned, they were again and again pointed out by the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. I do not want to detain the Council by dealing with them at length, but I will refer to a few facts to show how

serious the economic evil is. According to a return presented to the House of Commons, in 1892, excluding the rank and file of the British Army, the total of the salaries, pensions and allowances received in 1889-90 by public servants and retired Government officials drawing salaries of Rs. 1,000 and over annually, amounted to about 18½ crores, while the real revenue was about 61½ crores. Of this, only about 3 crores was received by, 17,000 Indians, while the remaining 15½ crores went to the pockets of 28,000 Europeans and Eurasians. That the lot of Indians has not improved materially since then is evident as my friend Pandit Hariday Nath Kunzru points out in his valuable pamphlet on the Public Services in India from the statistics published by the Government of India in 1912, which show that out of 5,390 posts to which monthly salaries of Rs. 500 and upwards were attached, no less than 83 per cent. were held by Europeans and Eurasians.

“Long ago, Sir William Hunter pointed out, that the salaries paid in India are very high, that India cannot afford to pay at the high rate at which the services are remunerated at present. In his pamphlet ‘England’s Work in India’ he wrote :—

‘The truth is that we have suddenly applied our own English ideas of what a good Government should do to an Asiatic country where the people pay not one-tenth per head of the English rate of taxation. I myself believe that if we are to give a really efficient administration to India, many services must be paid for at lower rates even than at present. For those rates are regulated in the higher branches

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of the administration by the cost of officers brought from England. You cannot work with imported labour as cheaply as you can with native labour, and I regard the more extended employment of the natives not only as an act of justice but as a financial necessity.....The salaries of the covenanted services are regulated, not by the rates of local labour, but by the cost of imported officials. If we are to govern the Indian people efficiently and cheaply, we must govern them by means of themselves and pay for the administration at the market rates for native labour.'

"You must recognise the fact that if you want to carry on the administration of India efficiently and cheaply, you must employ a larger number of Indians than have been employed hitherto ; so that from the economic point of view it is obviously necessary that a larger number of Indians should be admitted into the Civil Service. Then, Sir, there is the advantage of administrative experience which can only be acquired if Indians are admitted into the higher ranks of the service. Mr. Dadhabhoy summed up the whole situation in his own inimitable manner in a few words. He pleaded for a beginning for self-Government being made by the institution of simultaneous examinations, in India and in England and he urged that that beginning will be the key, the most effective remedy for the chief economic and basic evils of the present system.

'A three-fold wrong is inflicted,' said he, 'upon us, i.e., of depriving us of wealth, work and wisdom, of everything, in short worth living for, and this beginning will begin to strike at the root of the muddle. The reform of the

alteration of the services from European to Indian is the keynote of the whole,'

"Of course Mr. Dadabhoy did not mean that there should be an immediate or an early replacement of Europeans by Indians as a whole ; what he urged was that a beginning should be made in order that Indians should be able to obtain an increasingly large share in the higher services of their country.

This, Sir, was the state of affairs before the war. What is the position of affairs now ? The war, as Mr. Lloyd George has said, has changed things enormously ; as one of the members of the commission has observed, centuries of progress have been effected by this war. Naturally in consequence of it, things have begun to be looked at for a changed angle of vision ; and we have been looking forward that our claims, which are based on justice, based on right claims, which were solid and strong before the war and without any reference to the war will now be regarded as much stronger by reason of the part which Indians have had the privilege of playing in this great world war. I would like to quote here a few remarks from a speech of the Marquis of Crewe. In his speech at the Guildhall in London he said :—

'It is perhaps even more striking certainly no less gratifying, that those representing the various races in India races representing a civilization of almost untold antiquity races which have been remarkable in arms, and the science of Government that should in so whole-hearted a manner rally round the British Government most of all round the

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King-Emperor at such a moment as this and I am certain that the House will desire to express through those who are entitled to speak for it, its appreciation of their attitude and its recognition of the part they have played.

And Lord Haldane said :—

‘Indian soldiers are fighting for the liberties of humanity as much as we ourselves. India has freely given her lives and treasure in humanity’s great cause ; hence things cannot be left as they are. We have been thrown together in this mighty struggle and made to realise our oneness, so producing relations, between India and England which did not exist before.’

‘Now, Sir, in view of this momentous event, I submit the problem should be looked at in a much more sympathetic spirit than it has been heretofore. Our claim to have simultaneous examinations for admission into the Indian Civil Service held in India as well as in England, was quite strong before the war, and without reference to the war ; but the attitude of India during the war has given added strength to that claim. His Majesty’s Government have recently announced the goal of British policy in India. In that announcement we have been told that,

‘The policy of His Majesty’s Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.’

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His Excellency the Viceroy also, in the memorable speech, to which it was our privilege to listen on the 5th of this month, told us that the increased association of Indians in the higher services was one of the matters which was close to his heart and to that of the Government.

We also have the statement of Mr. Montagu in the speech which he delivered a short time before he was appointed as Secretary of State, and which he reaffirmed after he had been appointed Secretary of State, in which he pointed out how necessary it is that the Government of India should be radically altered. I will not take up the time of the Council by reading large extracts from that important speech but I will draw attention to only one important passage in it where he says.—

‘Your executive system in India has broken down because it is not constituted for the complicated duties of modern government. But you cannot reorganise the Executive Government of India, remodel the Viceroyalty and give the Executive Government more freedom from this House of Commons and the Secretary of State unless you make it more responsible to the people of India.’

Now that is the position, that the Executive Government has to be made more responsible to the people of India. With the altered state of things which the war has brought about, the recognition of the comradeship of Indians and Europeans, in arms, the recognition of the free contributions and the loyal services rendered during the war, and above all with a full recognition of the fact that the present system has outgrown itself and must be

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altered, so that the Government shall be made responsible to the people of India, we have to approach this problem for solution. And I submit Sir, that of all the questions relating to Constitutional reforms there is none which is more important, which lies at the root of the problem, more than this question of instituting examinations for admission into the Civil Service simultaneously in India and in England.

There is one other aspect of the question which I think I ought to ask the Council to bear in mind in this connection. Things have changed, they have changed greatly. The prayer for simple justice which we have gone on repeating and, I say it with regret repeating vainly for fifty years, cannot be disregarded. Indians feel that, in being excluded from the higher appointments of the services of their own country, they are being very unjustly dealt with. They find that the peoples of many other countries have made and are making great progress in all directions, that in many of them the systems of government have undergone a change to the great benefit of the people. They find that a new life has come over Japan.

In the last fifty years Japan has reorganised itself and has won a place amongst the foremost nations of the world. When they contrast the condition of Japan with what it was in the last fifty years, with the progress made in the condition of India during the last sixty years, since the Proclamation of 1858, they cannot help drawing inferences and making comments which are unfavourable to the present system of Government. Indians clearly want to

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feel, they want to realise that in India, as subjects, of His Majesty the King-Emperor George V and his successors, they can and they shall rise to the same height in their own country to which the Japanese have risen under the Mikado. They feel that other countries, even Asiatic countries, have been making great progress and they find a difference in the treatment given to the youth of this country. The British Government have established Colleges and Universities in our midst and have given us good education. We feel grateful for it. But the Governments of other countries have done one thing more, which the Government of this country has not done to the same extent. After having educated the youths of those countries, they have opened all the portals of higher service to those youths. In this country these higher portals have been practically closed against us, and as has again and again been pointed out by several English writers, if you will not allow the advantages which ought to flow from the acquisition of higher knowledge to come to those who have received that knowledge, you will necessarily create dissatisfaction and discontent. Having regard therefore to the justice of our claim, to the entirety of the circumstances and considerations which have come into existence because of the war having regard to the circumstances of surrounding countries, and of the civilised world generally, the Government ought not to hesitate any longer in instituting simultaneous examinations for admission into the Indian Civil Service in India and in England.

The Hon'ble the Vice-President :—“I have to remind

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the Hon'ble Pandit that he has already exceeded the time limit."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I am sorry, Sir, I was not conscious of it. The subject is one which touches the hearts of us all, and I hope you will kindly allow me just a few minutes more to bring my remarks to a close."

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—"I hope the Hon'ble Pandit will be as brief as possible."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I was going to deal with the question of the character of Indians, which has largely, it seems, influenced the decision of the majority of the Commission, but I will reserve it, if it should become necessary for me to do so, for my reply. But before concluding, Sir, I wish to make an earnest appeal to the Government to take up this question in an earnest spirit and to solve it. There ought to be no necessity for discussing it at any great length. We have got the authoritative opinion of the Parliamentary Committee of 1860, we have got the authority of the House of Commons of 1893, we have got the opinions of many gentlemen who appeared before the Public Services Commission in 1886 and of many more who appeared before the Royal Commission of 1912, in favour of simultaneous examinations. We remember that the Committee of 1860 pointed out that there could be no better way of honourably fulfilling the pledges which had been given than by instituting such examinations. I wish also to make an appeal to my friends, the members of the Indian Civil Service. My friend the Hon'ble Mr. Sastriar

made an appeal to them yesterday. I wish, if I may, to support it, I would earnestly ask them to look at the question from the point of view that the honour of the English sovereign, the honour of the English Parliament, the honour of the English nation, is involved in the fulfilment of the pledges which have been given to us during the last eighty years. Many of your own statesmen have said that those pledges have not been faithfully fulfilled. Lord Lytton once said that they had been made a dead letter and Lord Salisbury cynically urged that there was no good in keeping up an hypocrisy. But I am sure the documents containing the pledges will not be treated by the great English nation as a mere 'scrap of paper,' I am sure they realise that the honour of every Englishman the honour of every Britisher, is involved in the honourable fulfilment of those pledges and that those pledges can only be faithfully fulfilled by the holding of examinations for admission into the Indian Civil Service simultaneously in England and in India. One of the members of the bureaucracy has appealed to the members of the Indian Civil Service to decide their duty with reference to this question. I feel that it lies with them more than with any other body of men to help us to realise what we believe to be our birthright. In concluding his book on bureaucracy Mr. Bernard Houghton says:—

The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—"The Hon'ble Member must not read quotations at this period of his speech. He has already exceeded the time limit.

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I will take only a minute, Sir."

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The Hon'ble the Vice-President:—"Very well, I will give you a minute more."

The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"Mr. Bernard Houghton says:—

'And the members of the Indian Civil Service, easily the finest in the world,' I am sure this will gratify the hearts of my friends, 'may recall with pride, even when handing over the sceptre of supreme control they have wielded so long, that their dominion in India has not been without its glories. To have replaced turbulence and disorder by peace to have established courts of impartial justice, to have cast over the country a close network of roads and railways—all these are achievements which will ever redound to the honour of themselves and of England. But perhaps the greatest of boons, although an indirect one, which India has received at their hands has been the birth of a genuine spirit of patriotism. It is a patriotism which seeks its ideals, not in military glory or the apotheosis of a king but in the advancement of the people. Informed by this spirit, and strong in the material benefits flowing from British rule, India now knocks at the portal of democracy. Bureaucracy has served its purpose. Though the Indian Civil Service were manned by angels from heaven, the incurable defects of a bureaucratic government must pervert their best intentions and make them foes to political progress.'

Not all of them, I am sure, Sir.

'It must now stand aside, and, in the interest of that country it has served so long and so truly, make over the dominion to other hands. Not in dishonour, but in honour,

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proudly, as shipbuilders who deliver to seamen the completed ship may they now yield up the direction of India. For it is the inherent defects of the system which no body of men, however devoted, can remove, which render inevitable change to a new polity. By a frank recognition of those defects the service can furnish a supreme instance alike of loyalty to the land of their adoption and of a true and self-denying statesmanship.

"I earnestly hope Sir, that my friends of the Indian Civil Service will approach this question before us in the spirit in which this appeal has been made to them by one of the former members of their Service, and I trust that, approaching in that spirit, they will help us to obtain such a solution for which we ask of this very important problem which concerns our welfare."

ENHANCEMENT OF RAILWAY FARES.

TAXATION WITHOUT LEGISLATION.

The following is the full text of the speech made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at the Imperial Legislative Council on the motion on reduction of railway fares in March 1918.

Sir,—I beg to move that “This Council, recommend to the Governor-General in Council that he should be pleased to direct the Railway Board to order the withdrawal of the enhancements made during the year 1917 in the rates of the passenger fare over the Indian Railways.”

It will be obvious, Sir, that my resolution confines itself to the enhancements made during the year 1917 in passenger fares. I do not refer here at all to the freight tax or any other profits which have been made during the last year in addition to those which were expected. The enhancements to which my resolution refers were introduced, as I said in my speech during the first stage of the discussion on the Financial Statement, on the ground that they were necessary to discourage travelling, and I urge that it was not necessary for the attainment of that object that the rates should be enhanced as that object had been partly achieved by the curtailment of the train service, and could be further achieved by a restriction on the issue of tickets and, where necessary, by a return of the fares which

people might have paid for tickets when they could not obtain accommodation in the trains. I do not know, Sir, upon what other ground if any, the enhancements will be justified, but I submit that the reason which has so far been assigned for them certainly did not justify them. Let us now see what the result of the enhancements has been. We find from the Financial Statement that while 62 crores was estimated as the railway revenue in the budget of last year, the result proved more favourable and the revised estimate was placed at 68,25 crores; and the estimate for the next year has now been fixed at 70,50 crores. This substantial improvement occurred on almost all the principal railways and was due, it has been stated, mainly to larger receipts from the carriage of troops and military stores and from wheat and coal traffic. But the Financial Statement explains that the enhancement of rates and the withdrawal of concessions have also contributed towards the increased railway earnings of the current year. Owing to the courtesy of the Hon. Sir Robert Gillan, I hold in my hand an abstract showing passenger traffic under each class and earnings therefrom on Indian railways during the half-years ending 30th September, 1916 and 1917. According to it, as compared with the corresponding period of the previous half-year, in the half-year ending September last the third class shows a decrease of 29 million passengers or of 13.95 per cent., but an increase of 59.32 lakhs equal to 6.71 per cent. in the earnings. Taking the whole of the passenger traffic in all the four classes, there was a decrease of 36.70 millions in the number of passengers, of which 80 per cent.

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was in the 3rd class ; while the earnings showed an *increase* of 61·92 lakhs, of which 95·8 per cent. was contributed by the 3rd class.

Now, Sir, it hardly needs saying that it is the third class passenger who contributes nearly entirely to the profits of the railways. I showed the other day that compared to the expenditure incurred on his behalf by the railways his contributions have been more than handsome. The percentage of net earnings on capital outlay in 1915-16 and 1916-17 was 5·99 and 6·96 per cent. respectively. Considering that the normal rates of interest on loans is only 3½ or 4 per cent this average of 6·96 for all the railways was sufficiently high. But the result of the enhancements made last year has been that in the first half-year in which they were introduced 61·91 lakhs more, of which 95·8 per cent. came from the 3rd class passenger, was taken by the railways from the pockets of the travelling public and it is important to note that though the greater portion of this sum has come to Government, as the Financial Statement shows at page 91, 11 lakhs of it would go to the companies as their share of the profits earned in the first half of the current year, and of course a larger sum will go to them out of the profits of the second half of the year. This means a very substantial increase in the profits of companies owing to the enhancements effected in passenger fares. I do not see, Sir, how this can be justified ; and the only right course seems to me that the enhancements ought to be discontinued in the next year. It has never been said that the enhancements were made with the object of obtaining greater revenue but a large additional revenue has

as a matter of fact resulted from them, *i. e.*, they have in reality meant so much extra taxation which was not contemplated. This being so the matter ought in fairness to be re-examined. What was earned last year cannot be returned; but during the next year, both in view of the surplus in hand, and in view of the fact that it is not necessary to discourage people from travelling, to keep up these enhancements, they should be withdrawn.

PROCEDURE OPEN TO OBJECTION.

Sir, such is my objection to the enhancements. I have also an objection to the manner in which they were brought about. The Railway Act does not, so far as I can see say by whom the rates and fares shall be determined. Neither the Act nor the general rules made under section 47 of it contain any provision as to who should fix the rates and fares for passengers. But in the contracts which have been entered into by Government with Railway companies, there is a provision for fixing the maxima and the minima rates. For instance, in the contract between the Secretary of State for India and the South Indian Railway Company, dated 21st December 1910, it is laid down that :

“ The Secretary of State shall from time to time authorise maximum and minimum rates within which the Company shall be entitled to charge the public for services rendered by way of or in connection with the conveyance of passengers or goods on the undertaking and shall prescribe the several classes and descriptions of passengers and goods, to which such rates shall be respectively applicable, as well as the extent to which, within the maxima and

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minima so authorised, the Company may vary the said rates in respect of the distance or weight or special conditions under which such conveyance takes place or services are rendered."

I should like to know, Sir,—I hope the Hon'ble President of the Railway Board will tell us something of the procedure by which the variations between the maxima and minima rates are brought about. I should particularly like to know how the enhancements in question were determined. So far as the report of the Railway Board shows evidently what happened was that the Railway Board, felt that passenger traffic should be discouraged, and they held a meeting with the Agents of Railways—at which "it was agreed as a general principle that fares on fast trains should be enhanced up to the existing maximum in order to discourage travelling with a view to avoid undue overcrowding in passenger trains consequent on the reduction in train services" and that at a subsequent meeting with the agents and traffic managers held at Delhi a general enhancement was agreed upon, and it was decided that on all the principal broad gauge lines the third class fare should be advanced to the existing maximum and on others, where the ordinary fares had been only two thirds of the maximum, that it should be advanced by 25 per cent. It was also decided at the same meeting to increase the maxima of all classes to the limits mentioned, *viz.*, from 18 and 9 to 24 and 12 pies per mile in the case of first and second class fares and from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 pies per mile in the case of the intermediate class fare and from 3 to 4 pies per mile in the case of third class fares

respectively. I should like to know, Sir, whether, as would appear from the Report, the matter was considered by the Railway Board only or whether the Executive Council of the Government of India also considered it and accorded their sanction to the enhancements. They evidently did not and if this is so, it seems to me, Sir, that the procedure by which these enhancements were brought about and by which such enhancements can be brought about is open to great objection, because it seems to be in the power of the Railway Board, acting in consultation with the Agents of the Railway Companies, to impose what undoubtedly is a great deal of extra taxation on the people. I quoted the other day the opinion of Major Conway Gordon, a former Director-General of Indian State Railways to the effect that every rupee taken in excess of what the normal rate of interest on the State Debt requires constituted practically a direct extra tax on transit.

TAXATION WITHOUT CONSENT OF EXECUTIVE.

It cannot be right, Sir, that the Railway Board, should have the power either with or without the consent of the Executive Government, to impose a heavy extra taxation on the people, without the matter at all coming before the Legislative council and without the public who have to pay the enhanced fares having any opportunity given them to have a say in the matter. I am strengthened in this view by the fact that as in the matter of freights also there is no provision in the Railway Act for fixing rates for goods traffic. The Government found it necessary last year to have an Act passed by this Council as a war measure. The freight (on Railway

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and Steam Vessel) Tax Act, No. XIII of 1917, to authorise the levy by the railways of a certain charge on goods traffic. Evidently the Government were of opinion that they could not authorise the levy of a surcharge on goods without legislation. In England there are definite provisions in the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, for a revision of the schedule of maximum rates and charges applicable to merchandise traffic. It is provided that when a railway company proposes to revise its rates it shall submit its proposals to the Board of Trade and that the Board of Trade shall pass a provisional order on the proposals—"after hearing all parties whom the Board of Trade consider to be entitled to be heard"—before them respecting the proposals. It is further provided that such a provisional order must be confirmed by an Act of Parliament which shall be a public general Act, "and the rates and charges mentioned in a Provisional Order as confirmed by such Act, shall from and after the Act coming into operation, be the rates and charges which the railway company shall be entitled to charge and make." Thus before a Provisional Order is passed the public who are interested in it have an opportunity of having their say to whether the proposed enhancements are right and proper, and they have also such an opportunity when the matter comes up before Parliament, before any increased rates and charges can be brought into operation. I think, Sir, that there should be some such provision in our Railway Act too. As regards the enhancements of passenger fares to which my resolution refers I am speaking without a full knowledge of what procedure was adopted in bringing them

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about. I hope my hon'ble friend, the President of the Railway Board, will enlighten the Council on this point. But in any event, in view of what I have said above, I would ask the Finance Member of the Government to consider whether the enhancements in question should not be withdrawn in the next year.

REPLY TO OFFICIAL CRITICISM.

The following is the full text of Pandit Malaviya's reply on the same resolution :—

With regard, Sir, to the remarks which my hon'ble friend the Member for Commerce and Industry has made, I wish to emphasise that I do not complain of the curtailment of the train services. I recognise that in war time a curtailment of the train services is necessary. My point is that when the services were curtailed, it was not necessary to enhance the rates in order to discourage travelling with a view to prevent overcrowding in trains. The Hon'ble Member himself has said that in spite of the enhancements made there has been a great deal of overcrowding going on. That shows that the method that was adopted to remedy overcrowding could not effect that object. It was therefore unnecessary to adopt it. The means to remedy overcrowding are provided in the Railway Act and Rules. According to them the number of seats which can be occupied in every compartment are fixed. Why do you not enforce that provision? The accommodation that can be available in every train is definitely limited by law and if the Railway authorities will take the necessary trouble they would be able to see that only the proper number of

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persons find accommodation in every train. There has been a sore complaint going on for a long time against the overcrowding that is permitted in normal times in trains. I expect the Hon'ble Member of Commerce and Industry and other Members of Government have read the letter of Mr. Gandhi which was recently published in the papers in that connection. It is very necessary that overcrowding in trains should be prevented, and towards this end it is necessary that strict instructions should be issued to the railway authorities to see that there is no overcrowding. But an enhancement of the passenger fares was not necessary to attain that object and it has not secured it.

The Hon'ble Member said that 30 million less of people travelled during last year. I submit that this again was not solely on account of the enhancement, but also because there were no trains available.

Then my hon'ble friend said that if the revenue were given up now, the difficulties of overcrowding which he has mentioned would arise again. I submit they would not. Try it, and you will find that the number of trains being limited, the permissible accommodation in compartments being fixed, there cannot be too much of overcrowding, if you will take the necessary steps to prevent it.

The Hon'ble Member also said that India was suffering far less than the allied countries. I do not dispute that, but the extent to which India is suffering should not be underestimated. In all conscience the people have suffered and are suffering a great deal on account of the war. We

certainly do not want to see them suffering more. In view of the high prices that prevail, great hardships are already being suffered by the great bulk of the people. Is it right that more should be added and unnecessarily to their sufferings by the enhancements in question? Nobody can deny, I am sure the Hon'ble Member for Commerce and Industry will not deny, that people in general are undergoing very serious hardships. It is fortunate for them that these hardships are not of the same severity as in other allied countries which are in the thick of the war. But that does not afford any reason for adding to their discomforts and troubles in a way which is not justified by the requirements of the State. If it was necessary to raise a larger revenue, and if the matter had been taken up by Government from that point of view, I could understand it; but I submit that these enhancements were not necessary for the purpose for which they were made, *viz.*, to discourage travelling, and I therefore submit that they should be withdrawn.

With reference to the remarks of the Hon'ble Sir Robert Gillan, I should first like to ask my hon'ble friend as to where was the necessity of raising the maxima rates. As he has himself said, except in one instance, the enhancements which have been effected, are within the maximum rates which were already in existence. I cannot see that there was any necessity for the maxima being enhanced. The enhancement has given rise to a fear that a further enhancement may be resorted to in the future on the convenient ground that the enhancements already effected have not been found to be sufficient to discourage travelling.

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I should like to know where the necessity for these further enhancements of the maxima rates was.

Then, Sir, as regards my objection to the procedure adopted, my hon'ble friend has said that I have raised a large constitutional issue. Undoubtedly I have. It is grave constitutional issue that at a time like this, when the people are suffering various hardships on account of the war, sufferings which are not unknown and which cannot be unknown to any thinking man in this country, it should not be possible for the Railway Board or the Government by an executive order to add to the sufferings of the people by taking from them 61 and odd lakhs in one half-year in the shape of increased railway fares. I do not know what the total of the second half-year will be. In all probability it will be much greater. In fact I find it stated in the Statement in para 169 of the Budget that "it is anticipated that the favourable conditions of traffic which have contributed so largely to the earnings of the current year will be fully maintained in the ensuing year and that the enhancements of fares and rates introduced for the most part during 1917 will in 1918-19 affect the rates of the whole year and consequently add more to the total of receipts than they have done this year."

My friend has not answered the question that I put as to how the enhancements were actually brought about. I did not say that it was illegal. I wanted to know under what law or rule it was done. I certainly said that it was objectionable, and I wished to know whether the matter had been considered by the Government of India and the

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enhancements sanctioned by them. Neither of the two hon'ble members has answered me. I submit once more that the matter ought to be reconsidered and the enhancements should be withdrawn.

The resolution was put and lost.

IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE.

The following is the text of the speech of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at the War Conference, held at Delhi in 1918.

Your Excellency, your Highnesses and gentlemen.—It is hardly necessary for me now to add any words of mine to the eloquent speeches which have been delivered already to commend the resolution to the acceptance of this conference. The situation has been so well described in language of eloquence and reason by those who have spoken before me that it will be an act of superfluity to dwell upon that aspect of the case. We also know what the appeal from His Majesty the King-Emperor has been. The only question before the country is to respond wholeheartedly to that appeal, and I am gratified and proud to find that the honoured Ruling Princes of India and my countrymen are responding wholeheartedly to that appeal.

It is well, however, to draw attention to a few realities of the situation connected with this resolution. The assurance of our loyalty is going forth to His Majesty. That is right and proper. But as my esteemed friend Mr. Gandhi has said he has realized what it means in its fulness. I wish for a moment to draw attention to what it means in its fulness. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has referred to the splendid services which India has already rendered in the cause of the Empire since the

war began. We have contributed about 6 lakhs of men as combatants. It is now, proposed that not less than 5 lakhs, probably 6 lakhs of men, should be raised during the coming year. The task is a huge one. It is not so easily done. It will not be done without a great deal of effort and endeavour. I am sure there is a guarantee in the utterances of those who have spoken, and more than that, in the presence of this distinguished assembly, that that effort and endeavour shall be made. But, my lord, let us for a moment think further what it means. We are appealing to the people of India, to the humbler people of India, to come forward to enlist in the army and to risk their lives for their Motherland and their King-Emperor. In other countries where education and a long course of civilization have inculcated patriotic sentiments in the minds of the people of even the humbler classes the task has not been found to be free from difficulty. When we consider the condition of the people of India, the great illiteracy that pervades the land, the task becomes more difficult, and I claim it that it redounds to the great credit of my countrymen that in spite of that unfortunate drawback, my countrymen have responded to the call in the manner in which they have done. In this endeavour to call forth another 6 lakhs of people there are two things which we must bear in mind in order that we may do our duty by the country and the King in the right spirit. The effort should be made on a voluntary basis, and I hope there will be no unlawful pressure exerted upon any body to join the army,—I hope we shall persuade the people by our reason, by our

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eloquence, by our personal example by sending our sons and relations to join the forces, in fact by every legitimate means in our power, we shall by example and precept lead our contrymen willingly and cheerfully to respond to this call of duty.

Now, my lord, let us assume that we shall, as I hope, get the men. A great deal will then depend upon their quality. It is not mere numbers which count in such a terrible fight as is going on. I want to draw attention for a moment to the need of taking every possible step to infuse the right spirit into the men who we are by our persuasion and example going to ask to risk their lives in the service of their King and country. My lord, many efforts have been made in that direction in other lands. Here too it will be necessary to make those efforts.

There may be some who may hold that the poor people of India, that the poor peasants, not sufficiently fed always, not educated and generally not very well off, do not supply the necessary fighting material. My lord, I will not weigh that indictment, I will take it that they are, even as some people suppose, not sufficiently strong, not sufficiently robust. But there is one thing that can be done and to which I would invite your Excellency's attention and the attention of the Government. I will ask you and I will ask every one interested in doing his duty in this situation to take a lesson from recent Indian history. I refer to the time of Aurangazeb. I do not refer to it in any spirit of disrespect, I hope nobody will misunderstand me. During the time of Aurangazeb when his power was

very deeply planted the Sikh Gurus found it necessary to contest the supremacy of the country with him. Guru Govind Singh had to deal with indifferent material ; he had to deal with men who had not been trained previously to fight but he adopted a certain principle. He caught hold of the humbler classes—he did not wait to find men only from the Rajputs and the Brahmins—he caught hold of the humblest class of people who came forward ; and what did he do ? He initiated them and in return asked those *chelas* to initiate him as their disciple. He obliterated all distinctions between the guru and the disciples and thereby caught hold of their hearts. My lord, there is a couplet extant :

‘Wah Guru Govind Singh
Ap hi guru, ap hi chela.

Which means :—‘All honour to the Guru Govind Singh, thou art teacher, thou art pupil’. Now, I want, my lord, that all that can be done should be done to make the soldiers whom we are going to ask to enlist feel that their position is equal to the position of any one else fighting alongside of them on the battlefield. I feel, my lord, it is a duty to the Government and to my people to say at this juncture in this grave crisis with which the Empire is confronted when your Excellency tells us that the Empire is fighting to assert the honoured principle that right is might, and might is not right, when we are asking the humble peasants to come forward to bear arms in comradeship with the best trained troops of His Majesty, that there should be one inspiring

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action, one inspiring rule laid down, and that is that they should feel that they stand shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-subjects on the field of battle and that there is an equality of opportunities and equality of privileges open to them all.

My lord, some of my friends have referred to the question of the declaration for responsible government. That may come or it may not, though I think it will be an advantage if it does come, but what I wish to draw your Excellency's attention to is the removal of all military disabilities under which Indians labour at present. Let all branches of military service, on the land, in the air and on the sea, be open to Indians as well as to Europeans. Let all distinctions which stand in the way of Indians obtaining commissions, I mean the King's commissions, in the army, and in the new army that is to be, let all those distinctions be once and for ever removed. Let Indian soldiers—they may get less pay—I recognize that there is reason why they should get less pay than their brethren—but let Indian soldiers feel that though their pay is less, the spirit of treatment is the same, that though they may be weaker, though they may be less educated they are given the same treatment as is given to their British fellow-subjects. My lord, it is the spirit of Guru Govind Singh that I want to be introduced at this juncture in the administration of India, particularly in the army. I feel, my lord, certain that if that spirit is once created, if that spirit pervades the appeal in which his Majesty's Indian and European fellow-subjects are asked to come and stand

up to fight the enemy I feel sure, my lord, that these humble peasants of India who are poorly fed and ill-educated, will display the same spirit which was displayed in the time of Guru Govind Singh when they broke the power of a mighty monarch, and they will prove equal to the occasion and defeat the Germans who are endeavouring to put us in a bad position in regard to our own land and who are endangering the liberty of a great part of the world. I feel, my lord, that that spirit has to be inculcated. I am glad to say that the committees which your Excellency was pleased to appoint have made certain recommendations in that direction, and I am glad to feel that some of these recommendations, I know, are going to be accepted, but I have felt it my duty, my lord, to press this matter upon your Excellency and through your Excellency upon his Majesty's Government that at this crisis no narrow spirit should dominate the situation. We have been told, and I am glad that his Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner said that, that loyalty does not want a price, it is not a thing to be bartered. What we feel is that the conditions which are necessary to enable Indians who are enlisted in the Army to do their utmost and to do their best are not present. If you want a man to fight you need to put some steam into him, you need to give him some food and some clothing to meet the inclemencies of the weather; otherwise he cannot fight on equal conditions. I want that steam to be supplied, my lord, in the shape of freedom and equality of treatment which should pervade the whole atmosphere of India and the fields where the Indians and British soldiers

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may be fighting, so that the humblest man, the humblest Indian, who joins the service may feel that he is equal to the highest in command in the matter of equality of privilege and opportunity. I hope, my lord, this thing will be taken into consideration.

As for the declaration, I do think, as I have said, that if that does not come, that will matter less than a declaration of this equality of opportunity and equality of privileges for all subjects of his Majesty who join his Majesty's forces. But, my lord, there is a value in the declaration also. The constitutional reforms to which your Excellency referred in your opening speech may not be and I feel cannot be announced in all their details at this juncture, but, my lord, it has a moral effect on men. When we ask people to join the army and to risk their lives, I feel that if your Excellency should think it fit to advise his Majesty's Government to make a declaration in such language, in such form and in such manner as will commend itself to your Excellency and to his Majesty's Government to indicate that a new day of freedom is dawning upon India, that a day of equal opportunity and equal privileges is dawning upon India, my lord, that will go further than anything else that I can think of in putting the new spirit into the people and enlisting their services in the cause of the Empire. I commend these few points for your Excellency's consideration.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

The proposal of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy relating to Constitutional Reforms are, it is scarcely necessary to say, the result of many months of earnest discussion and careful deliberation held under circumstances which are too well known to require recital. In the words of their authors the proposals are of "great intricacy and importance," and it is "only right that they should have been published for "full and public discussion" before being considered by His Majesty's Government in England. Both because of their inherent importance and of the high official position of their authors, the proposals deserve most careful consideration at the hands of all serious-minded persons who are interested in the future of this country.

There is much in the proposals that is liberal, and that will mean a real and beneficial change in the right direction, which we must welcome and be grateful for ; but there are also grave deficiencies which must be made up before the reforms can become adequate to the requirements of the country. In the first category are the proposals, taking them in the order in which they have been placed in the summary, to place the salary of the Secretary of State on the estimates of the United Kingdom, and to appoint a Select Committee of the House of Commons for Indian affairs ; to increase the Indian element in the Governor-General's Executive Council by the appointment of a

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second Indian Member ; to replace the present Legislative Council of the Governor-General by a Legislative Assembly, which will consist of about one hundred members of whom two-thirds will be elected, to associate Standing Committees two-thirds of which should be elected by the non-official members with as many Departments of Government as possible; and to allow supplementary questions to be put by any member of the Legislative Assembly. In the same category come many provisions relating to the Provincial Governments, for instance, the proposal that in every Province (and this will include the United Provinces, the Panjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Assam) the Executive Government should consist of a Governor and an Executive Council, which should consist of two members, one of whom will be an Indian, and a Minister or Ministers nominated by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council ; that these Ministers should be in charge of portfolios dealing with certain subjects; that on these subjects the decisions of the Ministers should be final subject only to the Governor's advice and control : that though a power of control is reserved to the Governor, it is expected that he would refuse assent to the proposals of his Ministers only when the consequences of acquiescence would be serious ; that it is not intended that he should be in a position to refuse assent at discretion to his Minister's proposals, that in each Province an enlarged Legislative Council with a substantial elected majority should be established; that these members should be elected on as broad a franchise

as possible ; that every member of the Council should be entitled to ask supplementary questions ; that Standing Committess, consisting mainly of members elected by the Legislative Council should be attached to each Department; that there should be a complete separation made between Indian and Provincial heads of revenue ; that the Provinces should make contributions of fixed amounts to the Government of India, which should be the first charge on Provincial revenues ; that Provincial Governments should have certain powers of taxation and borrowing ; and the last, but not the least important, that the Budget should be laid before the Legislative Council, and subject to one reservation should be altered so as to give effect to resolutions of that Council. That reservation is that if the Legislative Council should refuse to accept the Budget proposals for certain subjects, which are described as "reserved subjects," the Governor in Council should have power to restore the whole or any part of the original allotment, on the Governor certifying that, for reasons to be stated, such restoration is in his opinion essential either to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part thereof, or to the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. The reservation is no doubt very wide, and it will require to be abandoned or modified. I shall deal with it later. But of the same favourable character are the proposals that complete popular control should, as far as possible, be established in local bodies ; that racial bars that still exist in regulations for appointment to the public services should be abolished ; that in addition to recruitment

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in England, where such exists, a system of appointment to all the public services should be established in India ; and that percentages of recruitment in India with a definite rate of increase, should be fixed for all the services, though the percentage suggested for the Indian Civil Service is inadequate and will require to be increased from 33 to 50 per cent at present. The proposals relating to the Native States also seem to be satisfactory. Taking them together, so far as the proposals go, they obviously constitute a liberal advance upon the existing state of affairs for which Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are entitled to our grateful acknowledgements. But in my opinion they do not go far enough to meet the requirements of the country. The effect of the proposals is summarised by their authors in 353 of their Report in the following words :

We begin with a great extension of Local Self-Government so as to train the electorates in the matters which they will best understand. Simultaneously we provide a substantial measure of Self-Government in the Provinces, and for better representation and more criticism in the Government of India, and for fuller knowledge in Parliament. And we suggest machinery by means of which at regular stages the element of responsibility can be continuously enlarged and that of official control continuously diminished, in a way that will guarantee ordered progress and afford an answer to immediate representations and agitation.

This certainly means progress, but it means unduly slow progress ; whereas if India is to be equipped industrially

and politically, to discharge her obligations to her own children and to the Empire in the immediate future that confronts her, it is imperatively necessary that a 'healthily' rapid rate of progress should be ensured by the introduction of a larger measure of Self-Government in the Provinces, and a substantial measure of it in the Government of India itself.

THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME

The Congress-League Scheme was framed with great labour and thought to secure in the present circumstances of India, what the united wisdom of educated India believes to be the right measure of power to the people, acting through their representatives in the Councils, both in the Provincial and the Imperial administrations. It reserved absolute power to the Central Executive Government in all matters relating to the defence of the country, war and peace, and foreign and political relations. It also reserved sufficient power to every Executive Government to prevent any legislation or policy being adopted which it considered injurious. It will be obvious from the list of proposals summarised above that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have adopted many recommendations of the Congress-League Scheme; but they have discarded its vital feature, *viz.*, the sharing of the power of Government with the representatives of the people, except in so far as they have proposed to give power to the Provincial Legislative Councils in respect of such subjects as may be "transferred" to them. I think that they have done so for insufficient reasons. If they

could make up their minds to recommend that power should be shared with the representatives of the people to the extent urged by the Congress and the Muslim League, the objections which they have urged could be met by alterations and amendments in the scheme. For instance, all the arguments which they have put forward against the proposal that the Indian Members of the Executive Council should be elected by the elected Members of the Legislative Council, could be met by laying it down that the Governor should nominate the Indian Members out of a panel to be recommended by the elected members. The object of the Congress League proposal clearly is that the Indian Members of the Executive Council should be men who enjoy the confidence of the public as represented by the Legislative Council. So long as this object was secured, no one would quarrel about the method which might be adopted to attain it. But it is essential that the object should be secured. In summing up their criticism of the Congress League Scheme as a whole, after describing its vital features, the distinguished authors say: "Our first observation is that in our view such a plan postulates the existence of a competent electorate, and an assembly which will be truly representative of the people." They believe that both a sound electoral system and truly representative assemblies will be evolved in time, but they say they cannot assent to proposals which could only be justified on the assumption that such institutions would be immediately forthcoming. Here I respectfully join issue with the authors. I firmly believe that such

institutions can be, and that therefore they ought to be, brought into existence now. I will show later on that this can be done.

In dealing with the proposals of the Congress League Scheme relating to the representation of minorities, the distinguished authors seem to complain that separate electorates are proposed in all Provinces even where Muhammadans are in a majority, and that wherever they are numerically weak the proportion suggested is in excess of their numerical strength. But this rule was initiated and established by the Government in spite of the protests of non-Muslims. But it having been so established, Hindus could not expect to effect a compromise with the Muhammadans on any other basis at any rate at present. They agreed to an even larger proportion than their present representation for the same reason. The figures of the seats to be reserved for the special Muslim electorates in the various Provinces were of course arrived at on no other basis than that of negotiation. But the Hindus agreed to them deliberately in order to secure the union and co-operation of Hindus and Musalmans for the common good of the people as a whole. It is quite true that a privileged position of this kind is open to the objection that if any other community hereafter makes good a claim to separate representation, it can be satisfied only by deduction from the non-Muslim seats, or else by a rateable deduction from both Muslim and non-Muslim. But when Hindus and Muslims did come to an agreement like the one in question, one need not despair that, in case

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of a real necessity, their leaders would yet again be able to arrive at some solution. They have learnt to recognise the truth that compromises have sometimes to be made by individuals and even by communities for furthering the common good. The authors themselves also have, after weighing the whole situation, rightly, though with justifiable reluctance, assented to the maintenance of separate representation for Muhammadans for the present, although they have reserved their approval of the particular proposals set before them, until they have ascertained what their effect upon other interests will be, and have made provision for them.

I will not attempt to deal just now with all the criticism which the distinguished authors have bestowed upon the Congress-League Scheme. I expect that a statement will be prepared in due course on behalf of the Congress and the Muslim League in which these objections will be considered at length. Though some of these objections may not be without weight, I believe they can be fairly and fully met; and still think that with some modifications which I have no doubt the Congress and the Muslim League would agree to, that scheme will best meet the present requirements of the country, and constitute a satisfactory first stage of "Responsible Government" in India, responsible not in the strict technical sense in which the word has been interpreted by the authors of the proposals and is generally understood in England; but in the larger sense that the Executive Government would know before taking office and every member of it should be

so told by the authority of Parliament—that though he does not hold office at the will of the Legislative Council, he must hereafter consider himself morally responsible to the people to administer their affairs in conformity with their wishes as expressed through their representatives in the Councils. But I recognise that the proposals under consideration which have been put forward by Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy, after months of discussion and deliberation, have given a great setback to the Congress-League Scheme, and I think that, in the circumstances of the cases, the most practical course for us to adopt would be to press for such modifications and expansion of the proposals in question as will make them adequate and complete. If this is done, it will necessarily assimilate them in principle to the Congress-League Scheme.

THE CONDITIONS OF THE PROBLEM.

Educational Backwardness.

In considering the limitations of the proposals put forward by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, we have no doubt to bear it in mind that they regarded the announcement of the 20th August last as laying down the terms of their reference. But it seems to me that they have put too narrow an interpretation on those terms, particularly on the question of the rate of progress towards Responsible Government, and in dwelling to the extent they have done on the responsibility of the British electorate and Parliament for the welfare of the people of India; also in insisting too much and too often that the British electorate could not part with that responsibility until an Indian

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electorate was in sight to take the burden on its shoulders. This evidently much influenced their judgment and prevented them from forming an impartial and correct estimate of the conditions of the problem which they had to solve. A perusal of the Chapter headed: "Conditions of the Problem" in the Report, leaves a disagreeable impression on the mind that the circumstances which make against the introduction of Responsible Government have received exaggerated consideration, and that those that make in favour of it have been underestimated or ignored. Attention is prominently drawn to two dominating conditions. "One is that the immense masses of the people are poor, ignorant and helpless far beyond the standards of Europe; and the other is what there runs through Indian Society a series of cleavages—of religion, race, and caste—which constantly threaten its solidarity and of which any wise political scheme must take serious heed." The first of the statements is unfortunately quite correct; but it means a strong impeachment of the present bureaucratic system, and supplies an urgent reason for introducing a real measure of popular Self-Government in India. The bureaucratic system which has had complete sway in India for a century and more has not lifted the immense masses of the people from poverty and ignorance and helplessness. The educated classes of India, who are of the people and live and move with them, and ought in fairness to be credited with sympathy with them, have made repeated appeals to those in favour to allow the representatives of the people a share in the administration.

SPEECHES OF PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

so that they might co-operate with them to reduce this colossal poverty and illiteracy ; but the Bureaucracy and Parliament have steadily refused to part with power, and they must be held responsible for the result.

Great stress is laid upon the very limited extent to which education has spread among the people ; also upon the fact that the total number of persons enjoying a substantial income is very small. It is noted that " in one Province the total number of persons who enjoyed an income of £66 a year, derived from other sources than land, was 30,000 ; in another Province, 20,000 : " According to one estimate, the number of landlords whose income derived from their proprietary holdings exceeds £20 a year in the United Provinces is about 126,000 out of a population of 48 millions. . . . It is evident that enormous masses of the population have little to spare for more than the necessities of life." True, alas too true ! But this again furnishes a very strong reason for at least partly transferring power and responsibility from those who have had a monopoly of it for the last hundred years, without using it in proper measure to promote a large production and distribution of wealth.

It is then urged that the proportion of the people who take an interest in political questions is very small. After urging that the town dwellers who take an interest in political questions, are a fraction of the people, the Report says :

On the other hand is an enormous country population for the most part poor, ignorant, non-politically minded,

and unused to any system of election, immersed indeed in the struggle for existence. The rural classes have the greatest stake in the country because they contribute most to its revenues ; but they are poorly equipped for politics and do not at present wish to take part in them. Among them are a few great landlords and a larger number of yeomen farmers. They are not ill-fitted to play a part in affairs, but with few exceptions they have not yet done so.

Yes, but were not the bulk of the people in every country—aye, even in England, non-politically minded until they were given an opportunity to exercise political power—until the franchise was extended to them ? And is there a better means of getting the people to take an interest in politics, than giving them such power ?

As regards education as a basis for franchise, we Indians would certainly desire that in any scheme of election that may be introduced in our country, the possession of a recognised degree of education should entitle a person to a vote without any other qualification. But I cannot help feeling, that the argument based on the lack of education among the people, has been unduly pressed against the cause of Indian Constitutional Reforms. We know that in Austria, Germany, and France which have adopted the principle of "manhood or universal suffrage," a common qualification is that the elector should be able to read and write. So also in Italy, the United States, etc. But except in the case of eight Universities, the franchise has never been based in the United Kingdom on any educational qualification. It is the possession of

freehold or leasehold property of a certain value or the occupation of premises of a certain annual value that gives a vote there, and it is said that this is the most universal qualification in all countries where a system of popular election has been introduced. Mr. Disraeli made an attempt in his abortive Reform Bill of 1867 to introduce an educational franchise in England. Hansard records that it was met by ridicule, because it proposed a very low educational franchise—so backward was education in England at the time. Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bill of 1868, based the franchise, like its predecessor of 1832, on property qualifications. It was after the franchise had been so extended to the workmen, that Englishmen began to say that "we must educate our masses," and the Elementary Education Act was passed in 1870 making Elementary Education universal and compulsory. The Duke of Newcastle's Commission of 1861 stated in their report that the estimated number of day scholars in England and Wales in 1833 was one in 11½. Speaking in 1868, Mr. Bruce stated that they had then arrived at the rate of one in seven or eight. In introducing the Elementary Education Bill (1870) Mr. Forster described the situation as showing "much imperfect education and much absolute ignorance,"—"ignorance which we are all aware is pregnant with crime and misery, with misfortune to individuals and danger to the community". So we are not much worse off than England was in 1868-70. Nor are we worse off than was Canada when on Lord Durham's recommendation Parliament established Responsible Government

there. "It is impossible," said Lord Durham in his memorable report which led to the change, "to exaggerate the want of education among the inhabitants. No means of instruction have ever been provided for them, and they are almost and universally destitute of the qualifications even of reading and writing." Let us have a reform bill based on the principles of that of 1868, or a substantial measure of Responsible Government and one of the first things, if not *the first thing*, we will do is to pass an Education Act which will remove the stigma of illiteracy from our land and steadily raise the percentage of scholars at schools, until in a decade or so, it will equal the standard which has been reached in other civilised countries.

Having dealt at such length with the argument based on the want of education among the people, I think it my duty to add that though the Government have not yet secured them the benefit of education, nature has been much less unkind to them. They have been endowed with a fair measure of common sense, and not only in their Caste Panchayats and Conferences, but generally in all matters which concern them, the bulk of them well understand their interests and come to fairly correct conclusions regarding them. The number of such Conferences is steadily growing. Only in February last, the tenants of the United Provinces held a Conference of their own during the Magh Mela at Allahabad, when they discussed and adopted a representation to Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy, urging what they wanted to be done to protect and promote their interests. They did me the

honour of inviting me to address a few words to them ; and it gave me genuine pleasure to see how well they understood and appreciated every point that affected their interests. I claim that, allowing for the difference due to the possession or the want of education, our small proprietors, yeomen farmers, and the bulk of our tenants will compare not unfavourably with corresponding classes in other countries in the possession of natural intelligence. And, finally, having regard to the response which they have made, and are still making, to the appeal to subscribe to the War Loan and to risk their lives in the cause of liberty and righteousness and the defence of the Empire, it is wrong and unkind to suggest that they are hopelessly deficient in the capacity to judge whom they should elect as their *panch mukhtar* or representative in the Legislative Councils. Twelve months of whole-hearted effort by officials and non-officials, to educate and organise them, similar to that which has been made for raising the War Loan and recruits from the people, will go far to prepare them for the exercise of any franchise which may be conferred upon them.

In discussing the question of electorates, it should also be remembered that though it is in every way desirable to make the franchise as broad as possible, it cannot in reason be regarded as a very serious objection that, comparatively speaking, our electorates may not in the first instance, be as large as in countries where the elective system has been in vogue for a long time. A reference to the gradual extension of the franchise in England may not be amiss.

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here. We know that up to the year 1832 the majority of the House of Commons was elected by less than fifteen thousand persons. In Scotland, where the population at that time was about 236,000, there were only about 3000 electors. As Mr. Gladstone stated in 1884, the Reform Bill of 1832, which was described as "the Magna Carta of British liberties," added about 500,000 to the entire constituency of the three countries. After 1832 the next Reform came in 1866. At that time the total constituency of the United Kingdom reached 1,364,000, and by the bills which were passed in 1867-69 the number was raised to 2,448,000. By 1884, the constituency had reached in round numbers 3,000,000. The Act of 1885 added about 2,000,000 to the number, *i.e.*, nearly twice as much as was added since 1867 and more than four times as much as was added in 1832. This brief history contains both guidance and encouragement for us. With a fairly liberal franchise, we are in a position to start with electorates, the dimensions of which will be regarded by every reasonable man as satisfactory, when all the circumstances of the case are borne in mind.

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES.

As regards the second "dominating condition," it is true that Indian Society is composed of vast numbers of people who belong to different religions, races, and castes. But it seems to me an exaggeration to say that this circumstance "constantly threatens its solidarity". The people of India are more law abiding than perhaps those of any other country in the world. Differences of

religion, race and caste do not stand in the way of their generally living and working together as good neighbours and friends, or of their combining for promoting common purposes. The occasional outburst of religious feeling—which no one can deplore than we Indians do—are due to ignorance which the Bureaucracy has failed to remove, and to the defects of a foreign system of administration which can only be mitigated by power being substantially shared with the representatives of the people. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford say that “the difficulty that outweighs all others is the existence of religious differences”. With due deference to them, I venture to say that they have taken much too exaggerated a view of this difficulty. They refer appreciatingly to the agreement reached at Lucknow in December, 1916 between Muslims and Hindus ; but they ask: “What sure guarantee it affords that religious dissensions between the great communities are over.” It should be obvious that this guarantee cannot spring from the agreement in question itself, but from the accomplishment of the object it was intended to achieve, *viz*, the attainment of Self-Government. If this was done, power and responsibility would be transferred in fair measure to educated Hindus and Muhammadans, so that they would be in a position to promote patriotism and public spirit, education and industrial and commercial enterprise among their countrymen, which will usher an era of greater co operation, prosperity and goodwill, and thus make religious riot a matter of past history. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford “cannot regard the

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concordat (of Lucknow) as conclusive." They say: "To our minds so long as the two communities entertain anything like their present views as to the separateness of their interests, we are bound to regard religious hostilities as still a very serious possibility. How quickly and violently the ignorant portion, which is far the largest portion of either great community, responds to the cry of "religion in danger" has been proved again and again in India's history. The record of last year bears recent witness to it." As I have said before, no one can deplore—and condemn religious riots more than we Indians do. But the distinguished authors are mistaken in thinking that there is any connection between occasional out-bursts of "religious hostilities" and what they describe as "the present views of the two communities as to the separateness of their interests". The proneness of the ignorant portion of either community to respond to the cry of "religion in danger" is due not to religious differences, which are present year in, and year out, but to *ignorance*: and if this ignorance were removed, religious differences would cease to divide and to lead to riots. The distinguished authors are well aware that such regrettable distempers of ignorance have not been unknown in England either. I cannot do better than quote here from a speech of Macaulay, delivered in the House of Commons on the 19th of April, 1847. Speaking in support of the Government Plan of Education, and referring to the riots of 1780, Macaulay said :

I do not know if from all history I could select a stronger instance of my position, when I say that ignorance

makes the persons and property of the community unsafe, and Government is bound to take measures to prevent that ignorance. On that occasion what was the state of things ? Without any shadow of a grievance, on the summons of a madman, 100,000 men rising in insurrection—a week of anarchy—Parliament besieged—your predecessor, Sir, trembling in the chair—the Lords pulled out of their coaches—the Bishop flying over the tiles—not a sight, I trust, that would be pleasurable even to those who are now so unfavourable to the Church of England—thirty-six fires blazing at once in London—the house of the Chief Justice sacked—the children of the Prime Minister taken out of their beds in their night clothes and laid on the table of the Horse Guards—and all this the effect of nothing but the gross brutish ignorance of the population, who had been left brutes in the midst of Christianity, savages in the midst of civilisation. Nor is this the only occasion when similar results have followed from the same cause. To this cause are attributable all the outrages of the Bristol and Nottingham riots and all the misdeeds of General Rock and Captain Swing, incendiary fires in some districts, and in others riots against machinery, tending more than anything else to degrade men to the level of the inferior animals. Could it have been supposed that all this could have taken place in a community where even the common labourer to have his mind opened by education, and taught to find his pleasure in the exercise of his intellect, taught to revere his Maker, taught to regard his fellow creatures with kindness, and taught likewise to feel respect for legitimate authority,

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taught how to pursue redress of real wrongs by constitutional methods?

It seems to me that not only did the learned authors fail to trace the riots to their true cause, but that they did not also take it into account that there are unfortunately some among European officials in India who feel a satisfaction in seeing religious differences at work, not only between Hindus and Muhammadans, but even between the two sects of Muhammadans—men who evidently think with Sir John Strachey “that the existence side by side of these hostile creeds is one of the strong points in our political position in India”. The painful story of the Comilla and Jamalpur riots need not be repeated here, but the mind irresistibly goes to it in a discussion like this. It is important to note in this connection that Hindu Muhammadan riots seldom take place in Indian States. Not only this, but even in British India, districts, which have been placed in charge of Hindu or Musalman Magistrates or Superintendents of Police, have passed peacefully through periods of stress and anxiety, while there were disturbances in several of those which were in charge of European officers.

Besides, here again, it ought not to be forgotten that India is not the only country which has known the trouble of religious differences among her sons. England herself has not been a stranger to it. Her history contains a sad record of the evils which she experienced owing to bitter differences between Protestants and Catholics. The long-lasting persecution to which the latter were subjected by

the former, particularly in Ireland, is a matter of not very remote history, "when the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Magistracy, all corporate offices in towns, all ranks in the army, the bench, the bar, the whole administration of Government or justice, were closed against Catholics, when the very right of voting for their representatives in Parliament was denied them," when "in all social and political matters, the Catholics, in other words, the immense majority of the people of Ireland, were simply hewers of wood and drawers of water to their protestant masters." The Catholic Emancipation Bill which admitted Roman Catholics to Parliament and to all but a few of the highest posts, civil or military, in the service of the Crown, was passed only in 1829 ; the Bill for the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland, only in 1869. But it speaks volumes for the growth of religious toleration among the Protestants of England of the period, that the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed by a Parliament which did not contain a single Catholic as a member. This is a happy illustration of the liberalising effect which representative institutions produce upon the people of the country where they are established. But this is a digression. I thank God that except in limited periods and areas, the relations between Hindus and Musalmans in India have generally been far happier than those that subsisted so long between Protestants and Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland. For centuries they have lived together, all over this wide country, as good neighbours, trusting each other, co-operating with each other, and having close and intimate social

and business relations with each other. The regrettable outbursts of religious animosities have been occasional and fleeting and remediable, and have been confined to a very few places in the country. In Delhi, the capital of the Empire, Hindus refused to celebrate the *Ramahila* not owing to any misunderstanding between themselves and the Muhammadans, but with the local authorities. It was owing to official callousness and *Zid* that the whole of Hindu Delhi kept its large business suspended for eleven days, and suffered serious loss and hardship over it. But notwithstanding this, the relations between Hindus and Muhammadans remained undisturbed. In the country, as a whole, the attitude of the officials and the people left no room for complaint. In not a few places, notably Lahore, Hindus and Muhammadans co-operated with each other with cordial good will, to see their two celebrations pass off in peace and harmony.

Before I leave this subject, I should like to say further that the difficulty arising out of our religious differences, such as they are, is much less serious than was that arising out of the enmity which prevailed between the French and the English in the two Provinces of Canada in 1837, when Sir James Craigh wrote that "the line of distinction between us is completely drawn; friendship, cordiality are not to be found, even common intercourse scarcely exists," and when Lord Durham said, in his memorable report in which he recommended the establishment of responsible Government in Canada,—“I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state. I found a struggle not of

principles but of races." It is encouraging to note that the existence of this deep-seated and widespread animosity between the two large sections of the people was not held to be a bar to the introduction of responsible Government there, but rather a strong reason for and an effective remedy against it. Subsequent events have fully vindicated the wisdom of that decision. The fact lends strong support to the view that the introduction of a system of self-government in which power and responsibility must be vested in an increasing measure in the leaders of the communities, will prove the most effective means of preventing religious differences from leading to undesirable results.

THE NEED FOR PROTECTING THE RAIYAT.

The Bureaucracy and Educated India.

A strong claim is made in the report that the official has hitherto been the best friend of the raiyat, and that he must therefore retain power to protect him "until it is clear that his interests can safely be left in his own hands or that the Legislative Councils represent and consider his interests. So with the depressed classes." No one would quarrel with the desire of the official to take every reasonable precaution to protect the interests of the raiyat and of the depressed classes. But the claim that the bureaucracy has hitherto been the best friend of these classes can only be conceded in a limited sense and requires to be examined. This has become all the more necessary in view of the fact that it is stated in the report that "the prospects of advance very greatly depend upon how far the educated Indian is in sympathy with and capable of fairly

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representing the illiterate masses." We have also been reminded that it is urged that "the politically-minded classes stand somewhat apart from and in advance of the ordinary life of the country." The distinguished authors of the proposal, have addressed a very kindly appeal to the educated classes that "if they resent the suggestion that has been made, that they have hitherto safe-guarded their own position and shown insufficient interest in the peasant and labouring population, now is the opportunity for them to acquit themselves of such an imputation and to come forward as leaders of the people as a whole." Several of the proposals for reserving power to the bureaucracy and not extending it to the educated Indian, until the peasant and the labourer has learnt the lesson of self-protection, seem to be based on the idea that the former is their better friend. It has become necessary, therefore, to go briefly into this question.

In the early days of British rule, the official did a great deal for the people in establishing peace and order, in promoting protection of life and property, in providing the country with a set of Codes of great value, in organising the administration of justice,—civil and criminal,—and the police and the revenue departments,—in promoting irrigation, in improving the existing means of communications and creating new ones,—roads, railways, posts and telegraphs,—establishing schools and hospitals to the extent he did, and soon. He secured to a large body of the occupiers of the soil the right to retain their holdings,—bringing the law in this respect in consonance with the

ancient custom of the country,—so long as they paid the rent demandable, and protected them against eviction and enhancement of rent except in accordance with law. For this and more all honour and gratitude to him. But I ask every good man and true in the bureaucracy—and their number is not small to say whether in his opinion—the system which he represents has done enough to advance the welfare of the raiyat, the labourer and the general mass of the people? The report before me bears witness that it has not. The report of the Commission which was appointed after the great famine of 1877-78 drew attention to the fact that the mass of the people were miserably poor, and that no remedy against the evils to which they were exposed in times of famine, would be complete until a diversity of occupations was provided for them by the encouragement of industrial pursuits. And yet little worth speaking of has been done in this direction up to this day. The mass of the people are still stooped in poverty. They are also stooped in ignorance. The Education Commission of 1884 recommended the extension of universal elementary education. But we know to our grief, how, after the lapse of thirty-three years, we stand in regard to it. So far as the depressed classes are concerned it is particularly a question of education. If the blessings of education had been secured to them, their position would have immensely improved. But this has not been done. Public health stands low, as is evidence by the high rate of mortality. The needs of the population in respect of sanitation and medical relief have been poorly met.

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Technical Education has not been promoted, industries not encouraged. Indians have not been admitted in fair numbers into the higher ranks of the public service civil and military, public expenditure has not been reduced, but has on the contrary been raised to an enormous extent. During all this time power has remained absolutely in the hands of the bureaucracy. It has found money for everything it thought fit to provide for, but it has again and again pleaded want of funds for promoting services bearing directly on the people's welfare.

Let us now see what the educated Indians have been doing this identical period. From 1885 they have been meeting regularly every year in Congress at great personal sacrifice and earnestly pressing upon the bureaucracy measure after measure calculated to improve the lot of the rural population and the general mass of the people. A glance at the resolutions passed by the Congress during thirty-three years affords unquestionable evidence of the attitude of the educated Indian towards the mass of his countrymen. In 1886 the Congress stated that it "regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India," and urged the introduction of representative institutions, "as one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people." In 1887, it urged "that having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Government be moved to elaborate a system of technical education suitable to the condition of the country and to encourage

indigeneous manufactures." In 1888, it urged that it was the first duty of the British Government in India to foster and encourage education, general as well as technical in all its branches," again emphasised the importance, in view of the poverty of the people, of encouraging indigeneous manufactures, and advocated the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the industrial condition of the country. In 1891 in reply to a telegram from General Booth, it said that the sad condition of fifty to sixty millions of half-starving paupers constituted the primary *raison d'être* of its existence. It again and again pressed the view upon the Government that "India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people prosperous or contented, until they are allowed, through their elected representatives, a potential voice in the legislatures of their country," and urged a series of measures of retrenchment and improvement with the view of improving the unhappy condition of affairs. It urged the reduction of the salt tax and the raising of the income-tax taxable minimum from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 for years before these measures, clearly calculated to benefit the poorer classes of the people, were adopted by the Government. It has ceaselessly advocated the adoption of an improved excise policy and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages, to keep temptation somewhat away from the door of the poor. Its advocacy of an improvement in the administration of the forest laws and for the abolition of the evil system of forced labour and supplied (*begar* and *rasad*), also its strong agitation against the system of indentured labour

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for the proper treatment of Indians in the colonies, have all been in the interests of the same classes. In the interests of agricultural development, it has urged that the Government should impose a limit upon its land revenue demand and that it should secure fixity of tenure wherever it does not exist, to the tenant in the land he tills. It advocated the starting of Agricultural Bank and the adoption of measures for the improvement and development of agriculture as it had been developed in other countries and the establishment of a larger number of experimental and demonstration farms all over the country. It has again and again reiterated "that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation" and has "humbly urged that immediate steps should be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affairs." When the famine of 1896 occurred, the Congress again drew pointed attention to the great poverty of the people and again insisted that "the true remedy against the evils of the recurrence of famine lay in the adoption of a policy, which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries which have practically been extinguished and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries."

It is unnecessary to prolong this list, and to refer to other resolutions of the Congress of a similar character. I hope this is enough to show how earnestly and pathetically

the educated Indian has been pleading for the life-time of a generation for the adoption of measures having the one aim of ameliorating the lot of his poorer countrymen. The proceedings of the Provincial and communal Conferences and of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils bear similar testimony, but it is unnecessary to refer to them in detail. I think the educated Indian can safely claim that he has proved that he is at least as much in sympathy with and capable of representing the illiterate masses as our friend the official.

It is regrettable to have to note that the British electorate and its responsible agent, the bureaucracy which has held absolute power during the period in question has responded but little to the representations of the educated Indian. In the same period, the Japanese who were in not half so good a position as India so far as material resources and administrative organisation were concerned, have achieved enormous progress; they have made education universal in their country, given technical and scientific education to their youth to fit them to play their part successfully in every branch—civil, military and naval—of the activity of a civilized country developed their industries, built up their manufactures, promoted national banking and credit, enhanced the prosperity and strength of their people, and raised their country to the position of a first class world-power whose manufactures are pouring into Europe and India, whose steamers are carrying on its own export and import trade, and whose friendship has been of incalculable value to the British Government in

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this present crisis. Educated Indians feel that if the British electorate and Parliament had agreed to admit them to a share of power with them as they asked for in 1886, probably they too would have been able to achieve a considerable degree of similar progress in their country, and they are naturally anxious that that power should not be withheld any longer from. The failure of the bureaucracy to do much of what it should have done to build up the national strength and prosperity of the Indian people during the last thirty-three years, in spite of the repeated representations of educated Indians, has created a widespread conviction among them that the healthy progress of the country will not be ensured unless power is given to them to promote it. This was a factor in the problem even in 1914. The events of the last four years have intensified its importance and added a new element to the situation.

Before the War, Indians based their claim to a share in the Government of their country on natural right and justice, which was supported by the pledges of the British Sovereign and Parliament. That claim has received greatly added strength by the part which India has played in the war. India will ever be grateful to Lord Hardinge for having sent her Expeditionary Force to help England and France in the great fight for liberty, right and justice and she is naturally proud of all the help which her Princes and people have given to the British Empire in the hour of her great need. It has been acknowledged that but for the timely and powerful help of the Indian contingent the fortunes of the War would have been very adversely

affected in France towards the end of 1914. It is also indisputable that but for India's splendid rally, British prestige would have suffered irretrievably in the East. In view of this achievement of which any nation may be proud, Indians ask what reason is there for England not permitting them even partly to manage their domestic affairs now as Canada and Australia and the other self-governing British Colonies do. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have taken full note of the effect of the War on India. They have observed :—"The War has given to India a new sense of self-esteem. She has in the words of Sir Satyendra Sinha, "a feeling of profound pride that she has not fallen behind other portions of the British Empire but has stood shoulder to shoulder with them in the hour of their sorest trial." She feels that she has been tried and not found wanting, that thereby her status has been raised, and that it is only her due that her higher status should be recognised by Great Britain and the world at large." They have further noted that "the War has come to be regarded more and more clearly as a struggle between liberty and despotism, a struggle for the right of small nations and for the right of all people to rule their own destinies," that "attention is repeatedly called to the fact that in Europe Britain is fighting on the side of liberty, and it is urged that Britain cannot deny to the people of India that for which she is herself fighting in Europe and in the fight for which she has been helped by India's blood and treasure. The speeches of English and American statesmen proclaiming the necessity for 'destroying German militarism

and for conceding the right of self-determination to the nations have had much effect upon political opinion in India and have contributed to give new force and vitality to the demand for self-government, which was making itself more and more widely heard among the progressive section of the people." This clear and correct statement, for which Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are entitled to our thanks, should have led one to expect that they would recommend the introduction of a substantial measure of responsible Government in India, which would mark a clear recognition of her higher status as also of the principle of self-determination. But their proposals fall far short of that. It is surprising that after taking a full survey of the present situation, they could come to the conclusion that at this period of the day, Indians would be satisfied with proposals of reform which will not give them a real and potential voice in the administration of their country's affairs, both in the central and the Provincial Governments.

Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have persuaded themselves that Indians are not yet fit for such a measure. But they cannot persuade Indians to agree with them. I have already dealt with the principal grounds upon which they have based their conclusions. I have given sufficient reasons for the belief that the interests of the raiyat will not suffer at the hands of educated Indians I have shown that neither educational backwardness nor differences of religion, race and caste stand in the way of reform. I am bound to add that Indians will resent the further suggestion that if power were transferred to them, the interests of

missionaries, foreign merchants, and of foreigners in the service of India would suffer. Educated Indians have not shown any hostility towards missionaries. On the contrary they have pulled on well with many of them. But the anxiety of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford to place the interests of persons who professedly come to this country to convert its people from the faith of their ancestors, in the scale against the demands of the country for advance in the direction of self-government, so vital to national life and growth, will supply to unprejudiced minds a new argument in favour of Home Rule. It is equally unjust to the people of this country to suggest that if they got power they might use it to the injury of foreign merchants and public servants. Have not the relations of the foreign merchants with Indians at all important centres of industry, been uniformly of good will and fair dealing? What reason is there then to be found in fact to justify the apprehension that if Indians got power they would indulge in any "prejudiced attack" on or allow any "privileged competition" against any existing industry? that they will be so foolish as to jeopardise their country's enormous trade—import and export—by giving any just cause for complaint to the foreign merchant, whom, they cannot replace for a long, long time? that they will not have the sense to recognise that the maintenance and improvement of that trade demands nothing more urgently than that no foreigner should ever have a suspicion of any but fair and honourable treatment at their hands? As regards the public servant, what reason again is there to doubt that he may not be

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supported in the legitimate exercise of his functions, or that "the rights and privileges guaranteed or implied in the conditions of his employment" may be tampered with by the Government if Indians got a share in it? Is there any ground for apprehending that Indians, representing the best elements of Indian society, will ever think of attempting to break covenants which have been solemnly made in their behalf? Will that be the way in which they would expect to attract the foreign expert and technically trained man whom it will be necessary in their own interests to invite to help them for many many a year to come? Clearly these apprehensions are not justified.

SOME IMPORTANT CONDITIONS INSUFFICIENTLY

APPRECIATED.

I fear that in dealing with the question noted above as well as with many others, one all important condition of the problem has not received sufficient consideration. It is this that even if the full measure of Self-Government which we Indians have asked for is conceded, the existing system of administration will not be torn up by the roots. The Executive Government will continue to be predominantly European. It will still have the decisive voice in all matters of administration. The entire edifice of administration which has been built up in a hundred years will remain unshaken. The administration of justice will remain under the High Courts. The existing body of laws will continue to remain in force. Even if a new legislature should want to alter or repeal an Act, it will not be in its power to do so until the head of the Government should

give his consent to the measure by which it may be sought to do it. The services will continue to be manned by the present incumbents, and, even, if fifty per cent. of higher appointments should be filled up in India in the future, it will be long, very long, before the services will be half Indianised. These facts contain in themselves a guarantee, which cannot fail, that the new order of things which may be ushered will not lead to any catastrophe to any existing interests. And they ought to inspire courage and confidence in Englishmen in dealing with the question of the introduction of a real measure of Self-Government in India.

NEED FOR MAKING INDIA SELF-SUPPORTING.

There is another vital condition, newly come into existence which demands serious consideration. The War has forcibly drawn attention to the dangers to which India is exposed, in its present condition, both industrially and politically. It is a matter of supreme thankfulness that we have got on so far as we have done. Let us hope and pray that we shall go to the end of the chapter, with equal good luck. Let us also hope that this devastating War will soon end, and that the peace which will follow will endure for a long time. But it will not be the part of wisdom and statesmanship to build entirely upon such a hope. It will be safer to think that it may be falsified and that there may be another War within ten years or so, and to be prepared for it. But how to be prepared for it? That is the question. The learned authors say that "The War has thrown strong light on the military importance of economic

development. We know that the possibility of sea communications being temporarily interrupted forces us to rely on India as an ordnance base for protective operations in the Eastern Theatre of War." This is true, but the experience of the War has shown more than this. It has shown that not only should India become self-supporting in the matter of forging weapons of defence and offence, but that India's sons should be trained to use those weapons in larger numbers and in better way than heretofore. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have noted the importance of this question, but they have naturally left it for consideration hereafter with the note that "it must be faced and settled." It is devoutly to be hoped that it will be settled soon and rightly, that both in the interests of India and of England English statesmen will realise that India's safety in the future will depend, to a much greater extent than in the past, upon her own sons being as well trained and equipped to fight as are the sons of the countries that surround her of Afghanistan, of Persia, of Turkey and of Japan. This demands that England should make up her mind to treat India now not as a trusty dependent but as a trusted partner, and to admit her sons on a footing of perfect equality, with Englishmen to all branches and grades of the military service, on land, on the sea, and in the air. Both justice and expediency demand that Indian should be treated by Englishmen as comrades in arms in the full sense of the expression, and that they should be trained as Englishmen are trained for all branches of the service, superior as well as inferior. But the very grudging manner

in which, after nearly half a century of agitation, and after four years of this dreadful War, the question of throwing the King's Commissions open to Indians have been dealt with, makes me despair of the claims of Indians to be fitted for the defence of their country, being justly dealt with until a substantial measure of political power is enjoyed by Indians. Political status depends upon political power. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford said in their report that the importance of the question of British Commission outweighs in the eyes of India all others. They recommended that a considerable number of Commissions should now be thrown open to Indians. There were 2,689 officers of the British Army serving in India in 1914-15, and 2,771 of the Indian Army, or 5,560 in all; It is estimated that for the new army of half a million about 15,000 officers will be required. The Government of India have decided with the approval of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India to nominate ten Indian gentlemen *during the War* for Cadetships at the Royal Military College to Sandhurst, and to offer a *certain number* of temporary King's Commissions in the Indian Army to selected candidates nominated partly from civil life and partly from the army. No number has been fixed for Commissions which are to be granted under any of the headings *one, two or three* Indians had hoped that this question of Commissions will be dealt with in a broader spirit. They naturally think that adequate justice has not been done to their claim, and they feel keenly disappointed. Could anything be ~~more~~ ungenerous than this? But this attitude:

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towards Indians will persist until Indians come to exercise power in the administration of their country.

FISCAL AUTONOMY.

There is yet another condition of the problem of outstanding importance which demands attention, and that is the question of fiscal autonomy. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have noted the weakness of India's economic position and also the keenness of the desire of Indians to improve it. They have recognised India that economic, political and military considerations all equally demand the industrial development of India. They truly say that they "cannot measure the access of strength which industrialised India would bring to the power of the Empire." They observe that "after the War the need for industrial development will be all the greater unless India is to become a mere dumping-ground for the manufactures of foreign nations which will then be competing for the markets on which their political strength so perceptibly depends." They note that the question of the Indian tariff is connected intimately with the matter of industries. We are grateful to them for having put forward the views of educated Indians on this important subject. They have pointed out that "educated Indian opinion ardently desires a tariff," . . . that "there is a real and keen desire for fiscal autonomy," that the educated Indian believes that as long as Englishmen will continue to decide the question of the tariff for him, they will decide in the interests of England and not according to his wishes, as is shown by the debate on the Cotton Excise duty in the House of Commons.

They have assumed with satisfaction that when the fiscal relations of all parts of the Empire and the rest of the world come to be considered by an Imperial Conference, "India will be adequately represented there." But how? By the nomination of an Indian by the Viceroy, as in the last two years? It is well-known that Indian public opinion is not satisfied with such nomination. And apart from that, whose views is such a nominee to represent at the Conference, the Viceroy's or those of the Governor-General-in-Council or his own? If of the former it will be a misuse of language to say that the people of India are represented at the Conference. If the latter, will the Government of India be willing to be bound in such an important matter as the question of tariffs by the independent opinion of their own nominee, selected without the support of the Indian Legislative Council? The position will be quite anomalous. If the representation of India is to be a reality, the only course which should be followed is to ask the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council (or of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils) to recommend a person for nomination by the Government of India as India's representative at the Conference. Such a representative will of course ascertain and voice the considered opinion of those to whom he will owe his appointment to whom he will hold himself primarily responsible; and the Government of India must be prepared to accept such opinion as its own, or the idea of having India represented at the Conference must be abandoned, and the experiment tried of subjecting her

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people to a policy laid down by representatives of the United Kingdom and the Dominions without consulting Indians. In view of the practice established during the last two years, it may be safely assumed that such a proposal will not be entertained for a moment. Power, then, must be given to the representatives of the people in the Central Government of India to direct the policy of Indian Government in this matter, and the proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford must be expanded in this direction. As the proposals stand, they will not give any such power. As they have themselves observed: "The changes which we propose in the Government of India will still leave the settlement of India's tariff in the hands of a Government amenable to Parliament and the Secretary of State." This means that the policy of the Government of India will continue to be the policy of His Majesty's Government. For all the reasons which they have given and which I have added, this will be wholly unsatisfactory. The development of Indian industries is a matter of vital national importance to India. It will largely depend upon the Government of India having the power and the will to impose such tariffs as may be considered to be necessary either for revenue or for the protection of her industries from powerful foreign competition. But what will the Government of India stand for in this all important matter if it is not to express and carry out the will of the people of India, speaking through their elected representatives in the Legislative Council? The Government of India responsible to Parliament and

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to the Secretary of State can only go so far as it is permitted by them and no farther. It is only a Government of India responsible to the people of India that can be expected to adopt the policy which their interests demand. In a matter of such vital concern to the people, where the disadvantages, temporary though they may be, of a policy of tariffs, will have to be borne by the people, the Government cannot speak with even moral force unless it speaks in conformity with their ascertained wishes and opinions. If the view presented above is correct, then it follows that the industrial development of India is to have a fair future, fiscal autonomy must be granted to India, and that if it is, power must be given to the representatives of the people in the Central Government to lay down the policy which the Executive is to carry out.

I have discussed the conditions of the problem at some length because it is obvious that the recommendations which Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have made have been determined and limited by the view they have taken of those conditions. They themselves have said: "The considerations of which we took note in Chapter VI forbid us immediately to hand over complete responsibility," It is therefore that they decided to proceed by transferring responsibility for certain functions of Government while reserving control over others. I hope I have showed that they have taken an exaggerated view of the difficulties of the problem, and have under-estimated the value of the conditions which call for or favour the introduction of a substantial measures of responsible Government I have also

shown that they have not given due weight to the conditions created by the War—the part which India has played in the War, and the needs of her situation in the immediate future as disclosed by the War. If in the light of these considerations their view of the conditions of the problem requires to be revised it follows that the proposals which they have made must needs undergo large modifications and expansion. It is evident that the terms of the announcement of the 20th August last also imposed a severe constraint upon them. They seem to have convinced themselves early of the wisdom of the policy of that announcement, as they interpreted it, and then unconsciously to have given special weight to points which supported that policy. The distinguished authors appear to have been partly conscious of this. For after emphasising the difficulties of the problem, they proceed to justify their doing so. They say :

Why have we tried to describe the complexities of the task before us, and in particular why have we laid stress upon the existence of silent depths through which the cry of the press and the platform never rings? In the first place of course we wish to insist on the importance of these factors in considering the time necessary for the complete attainment of responsible Government in a country in which in spite of rapid processes of growth, so great a majority of the people do not ask for it and are not yet fitted for it. But our chief purpose is more important than this. We desired to test the wisdom of the announcement of August 20th. If we have conceded all that can fairly be

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said as to the difficulties of the task before us, then the policy which has been laid down can be judged in the light of all the facts. We believe that the announcement of August 20 was right and wise, and that the policy which it embodies is the only policy for India.

If, as I have endeavoured to show, the facts have not been correctly appreciated, the conclusions deduced from them cannot be right. We have no quarrel with the policy of the announcement so far as it lays down that complete Responsible Government should be established in India not at one bound but by stages. But I do not agree with the view that it necessarily demands that those stages shall be many and that they shall be reached in a long period of time. If that were the correct interpretation of the policy of the announcement, and if that announcement stood in the way of the needed measure of reform, the difficulty must be solved by a more liberal pronouncement. The people of India had no voice in determining the language of the announcement of August 20th and the cause of Indian reform must not be prejudiced by it. But I maintain that there is nothing in that announcement which stands in the way of a substantial measure of Responsible Government being introduced as the first step towards the goal. We have urged that the Congress-League scheme should be that first step. But if that is not to be, the proposals under consideration must yet be expanded and modified to become adequate to meet the requirements of the situation. I will indicate below the main directions in which, in my opinion, the proposals should be modified and expanded.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR MODIFICATION AND EXPANSION.

1. The many qualifying conditions contained in the pronouncement of August 20th, created a suspicion in the minds of Indians that though His Majesty's Government had declared Responsible Government to be the goal of British Policy in India, the intention was that this goal should be reached only after a very long time. The proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford based on that pronouncement tend to confirm that suspicion. They have proposed a very limited and qualified measure of Responsible Government for the Provinces to start with, and as regards future development, they guard themselves by saying that their proposal for the appointment of a Commission ten years after the new Act, should not be taken as implying that there can be established by that time, complete Responsible Government in the Provinces. They say that the reasons that make complete responsibility at present impossible are likely to continue operative in some degree even after a decade. As regards the Government of India, they are not prepared, without experience of the results of their proposals relating to the Provinces, to effect changes in it. I cannot reconcile myself to these views. I think the needs of the country demand that Provincial Government should be made autonomous at once, and that a period of time should be fixed within which complete Responsible Government is to be established in the Central Government of India. Even if twenty years were fixed as the outside limit, we shall know where we stand. Among Indians, many will regard it too long a period ; among

Europeans, many will consider it too short a one. But twenty years is in all conscience long enough time within which to prepare this country, with all the progress that stands behind it, and with all the advantages of a well organised and well established administration, to bear the full burden of the new responsibility. The history of other countries supports the view that in this period education can be made universal, industries can be developed, so as to make India self-sufficient both in respect of the ordinary needs of the people and also in respect of military requirements; and Indians can be trained in sufficient number to officer the Indian Army and to take their proper places alongside of their British fellow-subjects, in the service of the country and the King-Emperor. The great advantage of the proposal would be that every one concerned will know that the journey to the goal has to be completed within the time specified, and progress towards it will be better regulated and assured. If this suggestion is accepted, it should be stated in the statute which is being drafted in England, that it is intended that full Responsible Government should be established in India within a period not exceeding twenty years. This will remove much misapprehension and facilitate agreement on many matters.

2. My second suggestion is that, it being definitely settled that Responsible Government is to be established within a specified time, adequate provision should be made at once for training Indians in India for admission to the extent of half the number, at present, of officers in every branch of the public service, military as well as civil,

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provided of course they pass the prescribed tests. These tests should be the same for them as for their English fellow-subjects. We should feel thankful to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for their recommendations on this subject so far as they go. But the percentage of recruitment in India which they have proposed for the Indian Civil Service is low ; it should be raised to 50 per cent. As regards military service, they have recommended that a considerable number of Commissions should now be given to Indians. But it is high time that half the number of Commissions were thrown open to Indians, *subject of course to the essential condition that they pass the prescribed tests.* This will at first sight seem to be a large order. But a little consideration will show that it is not so. This wicked war has taken a sadly heavy toll of British officers. The Universities of the United Kingdom have covered themselves with undying glory by the contributions they have made to it. But their losses have been appalling ; and in the years that lie before us they will be called upon to supply an increasing number of Captains to the various branches of National activity which will be set up after the War. It is permissible to think therefore that the demand upon them for officers for the army will be greater than they will be able to meet. Besides owing to the tremendous wastage of officers during the War and the greater demands of the army of the future, a much larger number of youths will have to be put under training, than used to be before the War. These considerations add force to the rightful claims of Indian

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youths which are also supported by the Statute of, 1833 and the Proclamation of 1856, to be admitted in sufficient numbers for training as Officers for the Indian Army. It will be both unwise and unjust not to recognise and encourage these claims to the full. Let an equal number of Indian and English youths be admitted into the College at Quetta and Wellington, and let them undergo the same training and tests together. The mutual confidence and friendships which will grow between them there will be assets of nestimable value to the cause of the Empire. Similarly, let it be provided that Indians shall be trained for and admitted to every other branch of the Navy and the Army, including the air service. These measures will furnish the most convincing proof to Indians that England means to treat India in future as a partner and not as a dependency.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

3. I have said that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have put an unduly strict interpretation on the terms of the announcement of August 20th. It is due to them at the same time to say that consistently with that interpretation they have proposed to introduce an element of real responsibility to the people in the Provincial Governments which they have recommended. They have proposed that "the transferred subjects" shall be in the charge of a minister or ministers to be nominated by the Governor from among the elected members of the Legislative Council ; that such ministers shall be appointed for the term of the Legislative Councils ; that the ministers, together with the

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Governor should form the administration with regard to these subjects, that on such subjects the decisions of the ministers should be final, subject, only to the Governor's advice and control. They have said that they expect the Governor to refuse assent to the proposals of his ministers only when the consequence of acquiescence would clearly be serious, or when they are clearly seen to be the result of inexperience. They do not intend that the Governor should be in a position to refuse, assent at discretion to all his ministers' proposals. This is the best part of the proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for which I offer thanks to them. It would give the ministers greater individual power and responsibility with regard to "transferred subjects" than they would have had under the Congress-League scheme. But it is weighted by various conditions and it requires to be improved. In the first place it should be provided that the elected member or members to be nominated by the Governor shall be selected from among the first few men who command the largest measure of confidence of their fellow-elected members in the Legislative Council. Appointment by election having been negatived, the best course to follow will probably be that the appointment should be made from among a panel of three or four recommended by the elected members. Though it will limit the field, still it would leave the selection to the Governor. But it will at the same time ensure that the Governor shall not select a man, who though he is an elected member, is not acceptable to the majority of the Council.

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The second point is that the ministers should be members of the Executive Council and not merely of the Executive Government. The distinction between the Executive Government and the Executive Council should be abolished. Dividing the Government into, what, the authors themselves point out, will in effect be, two committees with different responsibilities, will weaken the power and responsibility of the administration for promoting the welfare of the Province. In fact the division of subjects into "transferred" and "reserved" requires to be reconsidered, but of this further on.

Under the arrangements proposed, it would rest with the Governor to decide whether to call a meeting of his whole Government or of either part of it. The actual decision on a "transferred subject" would be taken by the Governor and his ministers; the action to be taken on a "reserved subject" would be taken by the Governor and the other members of his Executive Council. At a meeting of the whole Government, when it would be called, there would never be any question of voting, for the decision would be left to that part of the Government which will be responsible for the particular subject involved. Under this arrangement, the Executive Council will be practically relieved of all responsibility relating to "transferred subjects." The entire blame for the want of adequate progress in the matter of the "transferred subjects" will be thrown upon the minister or ministers.

Nor will the financial arrangements proposed under this system be satisfactory, from the point of view of the

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transferred services. In the first place, it is laid down as a postulate that so long as the Governor-in-Council is responsible for "reserved subjects" he must have power to decide what revenues he requires. It is proposed that the Provincial budget should be framed by the Executive Government as a whole. The first charge on Provincial revenues will be the contribution to the Government of India ; and after that the supply for the "reserved subjects" will have priority. The remainder of the revenue will be at the disposal of the ministers for the purposes of the "transferred subjects." If such residue is not sufficient for their needs, it will be open to the ministers to suggest extra taxation, either within the schedule of permissible provincial taxation, or, by obtaining the sanction of the Government of India, to some tax not included in the schedule. It is said that the question of new taxation will be decided by the Governor and the ministers. But it is clear that the responsibility for proposing the taxation will really lie upon the latter. The Executive Government as a whole will not be responsible for the proposal. The distinguished authors recognise that new taxation will be necessary, for no conceivable economies, say they, can finance the new developments which are to be anticipated. Why then should the responsibility for new taxation, to which a certain odium attaches in the best of circumstances be thrown upon the shoulders of the ministers alone and not upon the Government of the Province as a whole. The proposed arrangement is not quite fair. The responsibility for developing "transferred subjects" is to be placed upon

the ministers. The power of deciding what part of the revenues shall be allotted for the discharge of that responsibility is to be retained in the hands of the Governor-in-Council. Power is given to the ministers to propose additional taxation, but he is not to be supported in the exercise of that power by the collective responsibility of the Executive Government. Proposals for new taxation are seldom popular. When such proposals will be put forward without the support of the Government as a whole, the chances of their being accepted by the legislature will be seriously affected. It is proposed that the Legislative Council should have no option but to submit to the proposals of the Governor-in-Council with regard to expenditure on "reserved subject;" this is not calculated to promote a willingness to agree to new proposals for taxation even for "transferred subjects." It is evident that the prospects of such subjects being properly financed are far from satisfactory. Nor are the prospects of the success of this part of the proposals as a whole more assuring. The position of the ministers will be unenviable. They must either bear the blame of failure to promote progress in their departments or they must expose themselves to the odium of proposing new taxation without having the power to deal with the revenue and expenditure of the province as a whole.

Under existing arrangements, it is the Government of India by whose authority allotments for different subjects are made. Under the proposed arrangements, this power will be left to the Governor-in-Council. Under it, both the

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ministers and the Legislative Councils will be liable to be compelled to accept allotments for the reserved subjects with which they do not agree, and they will have no right of appeal even to the Government of India. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford hold out the solace to the ministers as well as to the Legislative Council, that a periodic Commission shall review the proceedings of the Governor-in-Council, and that there will be an opportunity of arguing before the Commission that reserved subjects have been extravagantly administered. The Commission is to come once in ten years. An opportunity for arguing before it against the dead decisions of the Governor-in-Council can have little practical value.

The entire question of a division between transferred and reserved subjects may be considered here. The *raison d'être* of such division, in the opinion of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, is that "complete responsibility for the Government cannot be given immediately without inviting a breakdown, and some responsibility must be given at once if our scheme is to have any value." On this ground they have proposed that "certain heads of business should be retained under official, and certain others made over to popular, control". They have proposed that a Committee should be appointed to decide what subjects should be transferred for administration by the ministers. They have indicated the principle on which the list should be prepared, and they say that in pursuance of this principle "we should not expect to find that departments primarily concerned with the maintenance of law and order were transferred.

Nor should we expect the transfer of matter which vitally affect the well being of the masses who may not be adequately represented in the new councils, such for example as questions of land revenue or tenant rights". They desire that the responsibility for such subjects should remain with the official Government "which is still responsible to Parliament". Responsibility to Parliament here means responsibility to the Secretary of State for India. We well know the meaning of this responsibility in practice. It is high time that the responsibility to the Secretary of State were replaced by responsibility to properly constituted councils representative of the people. I have said before that electorates which will be regarded as satisfactory by every reasonable man can be formed at once in the country, to secure the adequate representation of the masses in the councils. Let the right of returning a member to the Provincial Council be extended to every tahsil or taluqa or groups of tahsils or taluqs which contain a certain minimum of population. It will be no argument against my proposals that the Council will become a very large one. If the United Kingdom with a population somewhat less than that of the United Provinces has a House of Commons consisting of 650 members, there is no reason why the United Provinces should not have an equally large Legislative Assembly. The anxiety that different and conflicting interests should not suffer for want of adequate representations will largely disappear, if representation is given to a sufficiently large number of units of reasonable dimensions. If this is done, one may safely assume that

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the assembly will include representatives of landholders, tenants, bankers, traders, merchants, educationists, lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc. Is it reasonable to assume that there are Executive Council consisting of two European and one Indian members can be more deeply interested in, or be better qualified to form a judgment about the maintenance of law and order in the province than this large body of the representatives of the people ? Who can be more vitally interested in the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, in the province, than such representative ? Is it reasonable to apprehend that such a body will refuse to vote supplies which may be needed for the maintenance of law and order ? Again, will not such an assembly, which will evidently include a large number of men of light and leading in the province, be most competent to consider questions relating to land revenue and tenants rights ? Will it not be right to assume that their combined intelligence and sense of justice will lead such an assembly to advocate fair play between the Government and the people on the one hand and between one section of the people and another on the other ? Why then should these subjects be reserved to be specially dealt with both administratively and legislatively ? *The provision that if the Legislative Council should refuse to accept the budget proposals for reserved subjects, the Governor-in-Council should have power to restore the whole or any part of the original allotment should be dropped. The Legislative Council should be trusted rightly to understand and discharge its obligations in the matter of such vital concern to the people as the*

maintenance of law and order. If there is an apprehension that existing expenditure on departments primarily concerned with the maintenance of law and order may be reduced, let this be guarded against by a special provision that this shall not be done, unless it is assented to by the Governor.

On the legislative side the proposal for a Grand Committee should be dropped. It involves a serious and unwarrantable derogation from the power and dignity of the Provincial Legislative Councils. All provincial legislation is at present passed by the Provincial Legislative Councils. This should continue to be so in the future. The Indian Statute book contains over abundant legislation for the maintenance of law and order in the country. As a rule such legislation is All-India legislation and has with few exceptions been enacted in the past by the Imperial Legislative Council. It may be safely assumed that it will continue to be so in the future. Few Provincial Councils have enacted any law affecting the maintenance of law and order. The Bengal Council has between 1862 and 1914 enacted only the Calcutta Police Act, the Bengal Military Police Act, the Calcutta Sub-Police Act and the Village Chowkidari Act. And the Bombay Council has since 1867 enacted the Bombay village Police Act and the City of Bombay and District Police Acts. It will be a gratuitous effront to the Provincial Legislative Councils, both present and future, to suggest that they will not deal in the right spirit with any legislation of that character which a Provincial Executive Government may think fit to undertake. It is also difficult to understand what Provincial legislation a

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Provincial Governor may require for the discharge of his responsibility for the "reserved subjects". But assuming he might, it passes my understanding why the Provincial Legislative Council should not enact it. In view of the laws and regulations which already exist, Parliament should tell Executive Governments in India that no legislation shall be passed in future unless it receives the support of the majority of the members of the Legislative Council. It is evident that it is contemplated that the Grand Committees should be called into existence only occasionally. If then any occasion should arise when a Provincial Legislative Council refuses to pass any legislation which the Executive Government considers to be necessary, it will be better to ask the Central Government with the over riding power of legislation which it is proposed to retain for it, to enact it for the province.

So far then as the Provincial Governments are concerned, I would recommend that there should be an Executive Council of four members two of whom should be Indians, nominated by the Governor out of a panel elected by the elected members of the Legislative Councils, holding charge of and being specially responsible for subjects of the most vital concern to the people, and that there should be no reserved subjects and no Grand Committee. I would agree that the resolutions of the Councils other than those relating to the Budget should be treated as recommendations, and Resolutions relating to the budget should be binding on the Executive, and the budget should be modified to accord with them, subject to this limitation

that the Legislative Council should not have the power to reduce existing expenditure on departments relating to law and order without the consent of the Governor-in-Council. Even in those departments, no new expenditure should be incurred unless it is approved of by the Legislative Council.

BURMA.

I should not omit to say a few words about Burma. The reasons given for setting aside the problem of Burma's political evolution for separate and future consideration are inadequate and unconvincing. Burma was annexed to British India against the wishes both of Burmans and Indians. If it had been made a crown colony as was urged by the Indian National Congress, it would not have had to bear the greater cost of administration by the Indian Civil Service. But the proposal could not suit the Service, for the emoluments, and prizes of the Indian Civil Service, are greater than those of a crown colony. However, as Burma has had to bear so long the disadvantages of having been made a province of India, it is nothing but fair that it should be allowed to share with the rest of India the advantages of a popular administration. It would appear that it has an even stronger claim to a measure of self-government than India. It was but yesterday that it was deprived of self-rule and placed under foreign subjection. Those conditions upon which Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have laid so much emphasis are much more favourable there than in India. Education is far more widespread among the people, there are no religious differences as exist in India, and the claim of the upper classes to be in

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sympathy with the masses will perhaps be more readily conceded in their case than has been done in the case of Indians. It is no fault of the Burmans that the Provincial Legislative Council of Burma, as constituted under the Morley-Minto scheme, has no Burman elected element. As regards the argument that the application to Burma of the general principles of throwing open the public service more widely to Indians, would only mean the replacement of the alien bureaucracy by another, Indians do not desire to lord it over their brethren of Burma, and they will have no complaint to make if it will be laid down that the public services of Burma shall be recruited from the Burmese alone. If, however, as I fear, a good proportion of these services will be reserved for recruitment from non-Burmans, it will not be violently unreasonable to expect that Indians will be allowed to compete with Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, and South Africans for admission to that portion of the service. But it is unnecessary to dilate further on this point. I hope that the reforms which it may be decided to introduce into India will be extended to Burma, with any reservation which the Burmans themselves may desire to be made in their own interests.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

But as I have said before no scheme of reform will meet the requirements of India of to-day or satisfy her national sentiment, which will not admit Indians to a reasonable share of power in her Central Government; and it is here that the proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are sadly deficient. The Government of India

is the centre of power in the Indian Empire and so it will largely remain, even when the proposed reforms have been introduced. It will continue to deal with the most important questions which affect the country as a whole. It will still in a large measure lay down principles and formulate policies. It will continue to deal with the great body of adjective and substantive law which affect peace and order ; life, liberty and property, freedom of speech and of the press, legislation affecting the various religions of the people, will still continue to be its special care. It will continue to deal with most important heads of taxation, the income-tax, the salt-tax, customs, tariffs, stamps and court-fees ; with currency and exchange, banking and credit, commerce and industry ; with railways, posts and telegraphs, and other matters which closely touch the people throughout the country. Being in sole charge of the army and measures of defence, and of all other Imperial departments, it will continue to deal with the largest amount of annual expenditure. In addition to all this, it is proposed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford that a general overriding power of legislation should be reserved to the Government of India for the discharge of all functions which it will have to perform. It would be enabled under this power to intervene in any province for the protection and enforcement of the interests for which it considers itself responsible ; to legislate on any provincial matter in respect of which uniformity of legislation is desirable, either for the whole of India or for any two or more provinces, and pass legislation which may be adopted either *simpliciter* or

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with modifications by any province which may wish to make use of it. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford do not wish to admit the representatives of the people to any share in this vast power and responsibility which the Government of India wields. In their opinion "pending the development of responsible Government in the Provinces, the Government of India must remain responsible only to Parliament. In other words, in all matters which it judges to be essential to the discharge of its responsibilities for peace, order, and good Government, it must saving only for its accountability to Parliament retain indisputable power." I respectfully join issue with them here. In the first place, though it may not be difficult to understand the words "responsibilities for peace and order," it will be impossible to define "responsibilities for good Government." The expression is all comprehensive, and may be used to include any measure which the Executive Government may set its heart upon. Past experience justifies apprehension. Who ever imagined that the words "Prejudicial to Public Safety" in the Rules under the Defence of India Act, would be interpreted as they have been by several Executive Governments? The words "good Government," therefore, ought in any event to be cut out of the formula for reserving power which Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have suggested. In the second place, even with that modification, I submit that it is essential that the Government of India should be made at least partly responsible to the people of India acting through their representatives in the councils. So far as Parliament is concerned, the distin-

guished authors have themselves observed " that the interest shown by Parliament in Indian affairs has not been well sustained or well-informed. It has tended to concern itself chiefly with a few subjects such as the methods of dealing with political agitation, the opium trade, or the cotton excise duty," and they have rightly noted that "in India such spasmodic interferences are apt to be attributed to political exigencies at home." In another place they say:—"Parliamentary control cannot in fact be called a reality. Discussion is often out of date and ill-informed, it tends to be confined to a little knot of members and to stereotyped topics ; and it is rarely followed by any decision." They no doubt recommend as a remedy that the House of Commons should be asked to appoint a Select Committee for Indian affairs at the beginning of each session, which should exercise its powers by informing itself from time to time upon Indian questions, and by reporting to the House before the annual debate on the Indian estimates. They also propose that the Secretary of State's salary should be placed on the English estimates and voted annually by Parliament. This will no doubt enable some live questions of Indian administration to be discussed by the House of Commons in Committee of supply. But having regard to the other pre-occupations of Parliament, which will greatly increase after the war, it is not reasonable to expect that Parliament will discharge its responsibility for the welfare of India any better than it has done in the past. The accountability of the Government of India to Parliament will, therefore, only mean its account-

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ability to the Secretary of State for India who must generally be an uncertain factor. We know that this arrangement has not helped India very much in the past, and it is not likely to do so in the future. In the circumstances of the case, Parliament will best discharge its responsibility to the millions of India by telling the Executive Government of India, that subject to certain reservations in which Parliament, as represented by His Majesty's Government, must reserve control to itself, for instance of matters relating to defence, foreign and political relations, the Government of India should in future hold itself accountable to the people of India as they will be represented in the reconstituted Legislative Councils.

Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are opposed to this view. They say: "We recommend no alteration at present in the responsibility of the Government of India to Parliament—except in so far as the transfer of subjects to popular control in the provinces *ipso facto* removes them from the purview of the Government of India and the Secretary of State—but we do provide greater opportunities for criticising and influencing the action of the Government of India." Such opportunities we have had in abundance in the past,—in the press, on the platform, in our Congress and Conferences, and in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, and we have used them to the best extent we could. But we have found them of little avail because they were unsupported by power. It is, therefore, that we now seek opportunity accompanied by responsibility and power. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford propose to

create an enlarged Legislative Assembly for India with an elective majority. But in their own words they "do not offer responsibility to elected members of the Legislative Assembly," nor even do they define the sphere in which the Government will defer to the wishes of the elected members as they have done in the Provinces. They say, they do so "by a general prescription, which they leave the Government to interpret." Besides they have heavily discounted this proposal (of an enlarged Legislative Assembly with an elective majority) by their other proposal of creating a Council of State in which the Government will command a majority. In their own words, "the Council of State will be the Supreme Legislative authority for India on all crucial questions and also the revising authority upon all Indian legislation." The Council will not be a normal Second Chamber, but it will have greater power. It will take its part in ordinary legislative business and shall be the final legislative authority in matters which the Government regards as essential to the interests of peace, order or good Government. If the Council of State should amend a bill which has been passed by the Assembly in a manner which is unacceptable to the Assembly the Assembly will not have the power to reject or modify such amendments, if the Governor-General-in-Council should certify that the amendments introduced by the Council are essential to the interests of peace, and order or good Government including in this term sound financial administration. If the Assembly should refuse leave to introduce a Government bill, or if the bill should

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be thrown out at any stage, the Governor-General in Council will have the power on certifying that the bill is within the formula, cited above, to refer it *de novo* to the Council of State. The Governor-General in Council will also have the power in the case of emergency so certified to introduce the bill in the first instance in, and to pass it through the Council of State, merely reporting it to the Assembly. In the case of a private bill, if a bill should emerge from the Assembly in a form which the Government think prejudicial to good administration, the Governor-General in Council will have power to certify it in the terms already cited and to submit or re-submit it to the Council of State, and the bill will only become Law in the form given it by the Council.

Fiscal legislation will be subject to the same procedure which is recommended in respect of Government bills. The budget will be introduced into the Legislative Assembly, but the Assembly will not vote it. Resolutions upon budget matters and upon all other questions, whether moved in the Assembly or in the Council of State, will continue to be advisory in character.

I doubt if it is worth while creating the Legislative Assembly if the Council of State is to overshadow it to the extent proposed and to reduce it to a non-entity under certain conditions. I recognise that its creation will give greater representation to the people and increased opportunity of criticism; but I do not want more of its unaccompanied by responsibility. In summing up the results of the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909, Mr. Montagu

and Lord Chelmsford said : " Responsibility for the administration remained undivided. Power remained with the Government, and the Councils were left with no functions but criticism." The same criticism will apply to the proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford relating to the Government of India.

Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford propose that this state of things should continue for ten years after the institution of the reforms proposed by them, when it should be the duty of the Commission, the appointment of which they have advocated, to examine and report upon the new constitution of the Government of India, and if they see fit to make proposals for further changes in the light of the experience gained. This means that for fifteen years at least the Government of India should continue to exercise all its power as at present, and that the representatives of the people should have absolutely no share in it. Owing to the war, the next ten to fifteen years will be the most fateful years in the history of India. It oppresses my soul to think that during this period the Government of India, which as I have shown above, has failed to build up the strength and prosperity of the people to the extent it should have done, should continue practically unchanged, and that the representatives of the people, anxious to promote the good of their fellowmen, should still have to bear the pain and humiliation of having no determining voice in the Government of their own country. In the highest interests of humanity, as it is represented by the 320 millions of this land, and for the good name of England I

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earnestly hope that this will not be so, that the statesmen of England will see that the Government of India is brought to a reasonable extent under the control of the people whose affairs it administers. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have well described the effects of the war on the Indian mind. Let the statesmen of England ponder whether it will be reasonable to expect the people of India to be satisfied with any scheme of reforms which will still keep them out of all power in the Central Government of their country.

The Congress Muslim League did not suggest a Second Chamber because it was felt that the Executive Government, with its power of vetoing both resolutions and legislative proposals of the Legislative Councils, would really play the part of a Second Chamber. I still think that this is a sound view, for what is the main purpose of creating the Council of State, but to give a legal form to the will of the Executive Government? Why, then, let not the Executive Government exercise that will by means of the veto? It may be urged that that would not place in the hands of the Government the means of securing the affirmative power of legislation and of obtaining supplies. For the authors frankly say: "What we seek is some means, for use on special occasion, for placing on the Statute-Book, after full publicity of discussion, permanent measures to which the majority of members in the Legislative Assembly may be unwilling to assent." But either the Government should give up such an idea, or they should abandon the idea of creating Legislative Councils

with elective majorities. Under the existing constitution, no existing enactment can be repealed without the consent of the head of the Government. Let it be provided that no existing expenditure on certain services shall be decreased except with such consent. But with this reservation let the budget be voted upon by the Council. It is nothing but fair that all future increases in expenditure should depend upon the Government being able to satisfy the elected representatives of the people, who have to bear the burden of taxation, that every proposed increase is needed in the interests of the country. So also with regard to all new legislation. Let the Government trust the Council which it is going to create. The Indian members of the Council have not in important occasions failed to stand by the Government in the past. There is no justification for apprehending that members of the reconstituted Council, which will be much larger and more representative, will not lend similar support to Government in all essential matters. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have been good enough to acknowledge the correctness of the attitude of the Indian Members towards the Government. They say : "We desire however to pay a tribute to the sense of responsibility which has animated the members of the Indian Legislative Council in dealing with Government legislation. In the passage of very controversial measures, such as the Press Act, the Government received a large amount of solid support from non-officials ; similarly it received assistance when measures of real importance such, for example, as the Defence of India Act and the recent

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grant of one hundred millions to the Imperial treasury were under discussion. Again, good examples of the practical nature of the work done were afforded by the debates on the Factories Act or the Companies Acts."

Having regard to all the considerations I have mentioned above, I would suggest that the proposal to create a Council of State should be dropped. Any serious differences of opinion which may at any time arise between the Executive Government and the Legislative Council, would be got over by means of the veto and the power of promulgating ordinances. But it should be provided, as was suggested by the Congress in 1886, that whenever the veto is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this had been considered necessary, should be published and submitted to the Secretary of State; and, in any such case, on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, the proposed Select Committee of the House of Commons should review the decision of the Government. If, however, it is decided to create such a Council, it is essential that its composition should be liberalised. So far back as 1886, the Indian National Congress urged that not less than one-half of the members of the Imperial and Provincial Councils, which it recommended, should be enlarged, should be elected; not more than one-fourth should be officials holding seats *ex officio* in the Councils, and not more than one-fourth should be nominated by Government. During the thirty-two years that have since passed, the Councils have been twice reformed, and as the

been shown in the preceding paragraph, their work has been satisfactory. After this long lapse of time and after the fresh proofs of fidelity and devotion which India has given during the last four years of the war, is it too much to ask that in the proposed Council of State, which will really take the place of the present Legislative Council, the number of members, elected by electorates in which Indians predominate, should not be less than half of the total number? Experience has proved that the elected representatives of the European community almost always side with the Government. Therefore, though elected, they should be regarded counted as good as nominated by the Government. If this is done, I think it will reconcile Indian public opinion to the proposal of the Council of State. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford propose that the regulations which the Governor-General in Council should make as to the qualifications of candidates for election to the Council of State, should be such as will ensure that their status and position and record of services will give to the Council a senatorial character, and the qualities usually regarded as appropriate to a revising Chamber. The Government should find in this provision an assurance that the members of the Council of State will be more inclined by training and temperament to support than the members of the present Council have done, in matters essential to the interests of peace, order and good Government. If this proposal is accepted, it will take away all the ungraciousness which at present surrounds the proposed Council of State, and will enable the people to

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become familiar with, and to form a fair estimate of the value of a normal Second Chamber.

INDIANS IN THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

There is only one more important change which I have to suggest, and that is in the number of Indian members in the Executive Council of the Government of India. The Congress-Muslim League Scheme urged that half the number of members in every Executive Council, Imperial and Provincial, should be Indians. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have recommended that this principle should be adopted in the case of the Provincial Executive Councils. But they have suggested the appointment of only one other Indian member in the Executive Council of the Government of India. I submit that the principle which has been accepted in the case of the Provincial Executive Councils should also be accepted in the case of the Government of India. Of course no one can say definitely at present how many members there will be in the Government of India, when it has been reconstituted. But, assuming, as it is not altogether unlikely, that there will be six such members, it is nothing but right and proper that three of them should be Indians. The filling up of half the appointments in the Council with Indians will not affect the decisions of the Council so far as mere votes will be concerned. For with the Viceroy, the European members will still form the majority. But it will provide for a much more satisfactory representation of Indian public opinion in the Executive Council. It will be perhaps the most effective step towards training Indians for

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full Responsible Government. In my opinion nothing will create a greater feeling of assurance about the intentions of Government regarding the establishment of Responsible Government in this country, than the step which I recommend. It will create widespread satisfaction.

To sum up. The proposals should be expanded and modified as follows :

1. A definite assurance should be given that it is intended that full Responsible Government shall be established in India within a period not exceeding twenty years.

2. It should be laid down that Indians shall be trained for and admitted, if they pass the prescribed tests, to the extent of at least a half of the appointments in every branch of the public service, civil and military.

3. It should be provided that half the number of the members of the Executive Council of the Government of India shall be Indians.

4. If the proposed Council of State is created, it should be provided that half of its members shall be those elected by electorates in which Indians predominate.

5. It should be clearly laid down that existing expenditure on certain services—in particular military charges for the defence of the country shall not be reduced without the consent of the Governor-General in Council ; but that subject to this provision, the budget shall be voted by the Legislative Assembly.

6. India should be given the same measure of fiscal autonomy which the Self-Governing Dominions of the Empire will enjoy.

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As regards Provincial Governments :

1. The Provincial Legislative Councils should be so enlarged as to permit of a member being returned from every tahsil or taluqa of a group or groups thereof, containing a certain minimum of population, and the franchise should be as broad as possible to ensure the adequate representation of every important interest, including that of the tenants.

2. It should be provided that the persons who are to be appointed Ministers of the reconstituted Councils, shall be those who command the confidence of the majority of the elected members.

3. That though such Ministers should hold special charge of certain subjects, they shall be members of the Executive Council of the Province.

4. There should be no reserved subjects. If there is to be any reservation, it should be limited to this that existing expenditure on departments relating to law and order shall not be reduced without the consent of the Governor-in-Council.

5. The proposal for the Grand Committee should be dropped.

6. The principles of reform which may be finally laid down for the other Provinces of India should be applied in Burma also, subject if necessary to any special reservation which the Burmans themselves may demand.

CONCLUSION.

I have done. At the conclusion of their very able and elaborate Report, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford

invited "reasoned criticism" of their proposals. I have attempted in my humble way to offer some. I hope that they may find it of some value, and that they may reconsider their opinions regarding the conditions of the problem—and the recommendations which they have based upon those opinions. I hope also that the other members of His Majesty's Government and generally other Englishmen who will have to deal with those recommendations may find this criticism of some help. We are entitled to expect that they will examine the conditions of the problem within the light of well ascertained facts and the testimony of history, and, above all, with a broad-minded sympathy which India hopes she has deserved of England. The question of the adequacy of the reforms which are to be introduced is of the most vital concern to India. It is thirty-three years since, educated Indians having noted the defects of the existing system, first begged their English fellow subjects to allow them a share in the administration of their country's affairs. Their proposals were rejected. The result is writ large upon the country in the poverty and helplessness which pervade a land of abundant natural resources. A very unwelcome light has been thrown upon the situation by the fact that with a population of 320 millions with every desire to do the best, and with a strenuous endeavour of eighteen months, we have been able to raise by a loan barely half the amount of hundred millions which we promised last year as a war gift to England. I have given reasons to justify my belief that if England had

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

agreed to share with us power and opportunity for services, which we asked for in 1886, the country would have become so prosperous and so much more closely attached to England, that we could have easily given away a thousand millions in cash, and a million or two more of men, as well-equipped and trained as Englishmen who would have long ere this turned the tide of war in favour of the Allies, and saved millions of brave Englishmen and Frenchmen from death. We have reiterated the same request with greater unanimity and insistence since 1916. Let not England repeat the mistake of rejecting it again. The reforms which the Congress and the Muslim League have asked for, are as much needed to prepare India to defend herself and to be a source of greater strength and not of weakness to the Empire, as to promote the happiness and prosperity of her children. They have been long overdue. The war has only brought their need into greater prominence and relief, and lent unexpected and powerful support to the inherent justice of the demand. India has been faithful to England in the hour of her sorest trial. All that she asks for is that England should be just to her. She asks that in determining her future constitution, England should act upon the principles of justice, and liberty and of the right of every people to rule their own destinies, for which she has been fighting perhaps the most splendid fight known to history, and in which she has been helped by India with her blood and treasure. Both England and India are on their trial. May God grant clearness of vision and courage to us

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Indians to press for—and to Englishmen to consent to—the full measure of reform which is needed in the vital interests of India and of the British Empire.

INDIA'S SELF-DETERMINATION.

THE RESOLUTION.

[The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved the following resolution at the special Session of I. N. Congress held at Bombay in August 1918. on the Monlagu,—Chelmsford Re-form Proposals.]

That this Congress appreciates the earnest attempts on the part of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy to inaugurate a system of Responsible Government in India, and while it recognises that some of the proposals constitute an advance on the present conditions in some directions, it is of opinion that the proposals are disappointing, unsatisfactory and suggests the following modifications as absolutely necessary to constitute a substantive step towards Responsible Government :

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

(1) That a system of "reserved" and "transferred" subjects similar to those proposed for the Provinces shall be adopted for the Central Government.

(2) That the "reserved" subjects shall be Foreign Affairs (excepting relations with the Colonies and the Dominions), the Army, the Navy and relations with the Indian Ruling Princes and subject to the declaration of the rights already passed, matters directly affecting peace, tranquility and defence of the country ; that all other subjects shall be transferred.

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(3) The allotments required for the "reserved" subjects should be the first charge on the revenues.

(4) The procedure for the adoption of the budget should be on the lines laid down for the Provinces.

All legislations shall be by bills introduced into the Legislative Assembly, provided that in the case of the "reserved" subjects the Legislative Council does not pass such measures as the Government may deem necessary, the Governor-General - in - Council may provide for the same by regulations, such regulations to be in force for one year, but not to be renewed unless 40 per cent. of the members of the Assembly present and voting are in favour of them.

There shall be no Council of State, but if the Council of State is to be constituted at least half of its total strength shall consist of elected members and that the procedure by certification shall be confined to the reserved subjects.

At least half the number of the Executive Councillors (if there be more than one) in charge of the reserved subjects should be Indians.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The number of the members of the Legislative Assembly should be raised to 150 and the proportion of elected members should be four-fifths. The President and the Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly should be elected by the Assembly.

The Legislative Assembly should have power to make or modify its own rules of business, and they shall not require the sanction of the Governor-General. There

INDIA'S SELF-DETERMINATION.

should be an obligation to convene a meeting of the Council and the Assembly at stated intervals or on the requisition of a certain proportion of members.

A GUARANTEE.

A statutory guarantee should be given that full Responsible Government should be established in the whole of British India within a period not exceeding 15 years.

THE PROVINCES.

The Executive.

(1) There should be no additional members of the Executive Government without portfolios.

(2) From the commencement of the first Reformed Councils the principle of the responsibility of Ministers to the Legislature shall come into effect. The status and the salary of the ministers shall be the same as that of the members of the Executive Council. At least half the number of the Executive Councillors in charge of reserved subjects (if there be more than one) should be Indians.

The budget shall be under the control of the Legislature subject to the contribution to the Government of India and during the life-time of the Reformed Councils to the allocation of a fixed sum for the reserved subjects and should fresh taxation be necessary, it should be imposed by the Provincial Government as a whole for both transferred and reserved subjects.

LEGISLATURE.

While holding that the people are ripe for the introduction of full provincial autonomy, the Congress is yet prepared with a view to facilitating the passage of the

Reforms and to save time otherwise lost in controversy to leave the departments of law, police, and justice (prisons excepted) in the hands of the Executive Government in all Provinces for a period of six years. The Executive and Judicial departments must be separated at once. The President and the Vice-President should be elected by the Council. The proposal to institute a Grand Committee shall be dropped. The Provincial Legislative Council shall legislate in respect of all matters within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Government, including law, justice and police, but where the Government not satisfied with the decision of the Legislative Council in respect of matters relating to law, justice and police, it shall be open to the Government to refer the matter to the Government of India. The Government of India may refer the matter to the Indian Legislature, and the ordinary procedure shall follow. But if Grand Committees are instituted, this Congress is of opinion that not less than half the strength shall be elected by the Legislative Assembly. The proportion of elected members in the Legislative Council shall be four-fifths. Whenever the Legislative Assembly the Council of State or the Legislative Council is dissolved, it shall be obligatory on the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, to order the necessary elections and to re-summon the body dissolved within a period of three months from the date of dissolution. No dissolution of the Legislature shall take place by way of appeal to the electorate and reason should be stated in writing countersigned by the Ministers.

INDIA'S SELF-DETERMINATION

PARLIAMENT AND INDIA OFFICE.

(A) The Council of India shall be abolished and there shall be two permanent Under-Secretaries to assist the Secretary of State for India, one of whom shall be an Indian.

(B) All the changes in respect to the India Office Establishment shall be placed on the British estimates.

(C) No financial or administrative powers in regard to the reserved subjects should be transferred to the Provincial Governments, until such time as they are made responsible regarding them to the electorates and until then the control of the Parliament and the Secretary of State should continue.

(D) The Committee to be appointed to examine and report on the present constitution of the Council of India shall contain an adequate Indian element.

MUSLIM REPRESENTATION.

The proportion of Muhammadans in the Legislative Councils and the Legislative Assembly, as laid down in the Congress League Scheme, must be maintained.

FISCAL AUTONOMY.

This Congress is of opinion that, consistently with the Imperial interests, the Government of this country should have complete freedom in all fiscal matters, and that the question of provincial contributions to the Imperial Exchequer be referred to the Provincial Congress Committees for opinions to be placed before the next Congress at Delhi.

ADDITIONAL HELP TO HOME GOVERNMENT.

Speaking on *Sir William Meyer's resolution on money grant at the Imperial legislative Council held in September 1918* the Hon'ble Pandit M. Malaviya said :—Would your Lordship permit me to move an amendment at this stage to the effect that the following proviso be added to the Resolution, *viz.*, "provided that the total amount of additional cost shall be regarded by his Majesty's Government as a part of the contribution of £100 million which we promised last year to England."

H. E. the President :—I think the Hon'ble Member must see that any amendment of that sort is a direct negation and would be regarded as such by the Government of India.

Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya :—My Lord, as I submitted yesterday, the resolution moved by the Hon'ble the Finance Member virtually amounts to a money bill, and I therefore asked that the rules of business of this Council might be suspended in order that the resolution might be fully and fairly dealt with. I must express my regret that the suggestion did not commend itself to your Lordship. The course adopted by the Government has placed us in a difficult position. The Hon'ble the Finance Member has moved the resolution in a long speech which lasted nearly

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an hour and which raised important issues which would commit the country to a fresh expenditure of £45 million, and in general to-day to proposals for taxation by which that amount is to be raised in the future, and we are asked to form and express our opinions on those issues. I submit, my Lord, that as is done in the case of the Annual Financial Statement, a week's interval should have been allowed after the statement was made by the Finance Member, so as to enable the members and the public to digest it and to suggest such amendments as they might think fit. As matters stand, without meaning any disrespect to anyone, I venture to doubt if some of my colleagues who have so really given their support to the proposal have weighed fully all that it means, whether they have weighed, for instance, the propriety of that part of it which would saddle India with £11½ million on account of "extraordinary" pension charges not merely of Indian troops and followers, but of British officers of the Indian army and the "service share" of similar charges relating to British troops, "including those who belonged to the Indian establishment at the outbreak of the War and those who have at some previous time served in India." As the Hon'ble Member stated, at present "with regard to British troops belonging to the Indian establishment the position is that Indian revenues have no liability for the "extraordinary" pensionary charges arising out of the war." But he evidently was not troubled by any doubt in arriving at the conclusion and proposing "that in the present circumstances, we might offer to bear those extraordinary pension

charges," also, I doubt, however, if any Indian Member would have equally easily assented to this part of the proposal if he had time to consider it.

UNFAIR WAY OF CONSULTING NON-OFFICIALS.

Now my Lord coming to the subject-matter of the resolution, we have been reminded by the Hon'ble the Finance Member that your Lordship said at the Delhi Conference as follows :—"Now, I am very jealous of the position of the Imperial Legislative Council. The question of finance is essentially one in which we have to consult and carry with us the members of the Imperial Legislative Council;" and your Lordship said you would later on "consider in consultation with the Legislative Council, for this is a matter essentially in its sphere, how far it will be feasible for India to increase the direct financial contribution she has already made to his Majesty's Government, or in what other way she can assist financially." From these remarks of your Excellency one should have expected that your Government would have consulted us, the members of the Legislative Council, in camera before shaping, your proposal and deciding to publish it to the world and to put it formally before the Council in the manner it has been put. When the Government decided to do as they have done, they should have taken the responsibility of carrying their proposal in the ordinary way with the votes of the *official majority of this Council*. But the Government have adopted an unusual course. While you have given us no voice in determining upon the proposal, you have decided to leave the responsibility of accepting or rejecting it upon

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as the non-official members of the Council. And at the very commencement of his speech the Finance Member hurled at us what cannot, in the unhappy position in which we are placed, be regarded as a mere *brutum fulmen*, that if the bulk of us should not be able to support the resolution, the resolution will be withdrawn and on us will rest the responsibility for withholding the further aid which the Government of India desire to tender to his Majesty's Government at this crisis of the war. He concluded his speech by again reminding us that the responsibility for rejecting the course which after full consideration, the Government have proposed, will fall on the non-official members of this Council. I wonder, my Lord, if any disinterested person will regard this as a fair way of consulting and carrying the non-official members of this Council with the Government. By adopting the procedure your Government have adopted you have placed us in a position of great disadvantage. We must either swallow the proposal and become responsible for the large additional burden and fresh taxation being imposed upon the country, or we must expose ourselves to the risk of our opponents, and unfortunately they are neither few nor uninfluential, making political capital in England by saying that Indian representatives had withheld the further aid which the Government of India desired to tender to his Majesty's Government at this crisis. He will be a bold man who will say that the vote of the non-official members on the resolution will in these circumstances be an altogether free vote. I yet hope, however, that my colleagues will act

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according to the dictates of the small voice within, which after all is the last anchor that holds.

My Lord, it should hardly be necessary for me to reiterate my deep and respectful sympathy with England in her present position. I fully recognise that the prolongation of the war inflicts an increasingly heavy burden upon her. It is a matter of sincere satisfaction to us that India has been able to help England to the extent she has done. I hope it will be acknowledged by all reasonable men that she has helped ungrudgingly all these four years in men, money and material. I will not take up the time of the Council by attempting to recount what she has contributed. But the help we can give must be limited by our means, and by the consideration of what our duty to our own people, whom we are here to represent, permits, in other words, it must be limited to what we can spare and reasonably bear. The Hon'ble the Finance Member himself has told us that the Government have decided to leave the decision of this question to us, the non-official members, on behalf of the much larger public in India to whom they desire to appeal. We are therefore not to express our opinions here as private individuals but as representatives of the people :— and we must in forming that opinion bear in mind how the proposal which the Government have put forward will affect the people at large. In considering this, my Lord, let me briefly refer to the history of our contributions during the last four years.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTIONS.

Speaking two years ago of those contributions, our

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late Viceroy, Lord Hardinge said that India had been 'bled white.'

Hon'ble Sir William Meyer :— May I ask the Hon'ble Member to cite the passage in which Lord Hardinge said that India had been bled white ?

Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya :—I have not got it here, but I will give it to the Hon'ble Member later on.

Hon'ble Sir William Meyer :—I put it to the Hon'ble Member that what Lord Hardinge referred to was bled white of troops.

Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya :—If that is so, my Lord, I thank the Hon'ble Member for correcting me. Summing up our contributions in 1916 the Hon'ble the Finance Member explained why India could not contribute more. He said : " We have also to remember that the termination of this war, when it comes, will leave us with heavy financial demands on us, and that the experiences and lessons of the war must also add in some directions to our permanent military charges." He also reminded the Council that " We should be in a position, when peace returns, or as soon after as may be, to provide further funds for such beneficent purposes as the improvement of education and sanitation." Notwithstanding all this, it was proposed in 1917 that India should make a direct money contribution to the war. It is an open secret that the Government of India first fought hard against the idea and that they eventually agreed after much correspondence and discussion to offer a gift to England. The public does not know what exactly passed between the Government

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of India and the India office. But there is a strong belief, and it is widespread, that the Government of India wanted to offer a much smaller amount and agreed to give a £100 million only when the Government of England agreed to allow them to abolish the Cotton Excise Duty.

When the proposal to make a gift of £100 million to England came before this Council, many of us felt that it was far too heavy a burden for our poor country, with its very limited means, and its numerous vital domestic needs, to bear. I will take the liberty of quoting a few sentences from what I then said about it :

“In the second place, Sir, it cannot be denied that the burden is a stupendous one. It will require special high taxation to the tune of £6 million a year to be maintained for the long period of over 30 years, to discharge it. Not to talk of the United Kingdom, if we were half so rich and prosperous as the self-governing Dominions, we would have gladly undertaken such a burden. But unfortunately India is very poor. Her resources are limited. Her vital domestic needs are great and pressing. The vast mass of her population suffers from want of education. Her agriculture and industries badly need to be developed. Her extreme poverty, which is the normal condition of the vast majority of the people, and which keeps them on a low grade of vitality and thus exposes them to disease and suffering, requires to be ameliorated. For many years we have been pressing the problems of internal improvement on to Government of India, and urging them to frame large schemes, commensurate with the requirements of the

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situation, to carry out the necessary measures of improvement, and we have always been met by the reply that funds are not available for the purpose. But the proposals of the budget leave us face to face with a situation in which for the life-time of a generation, the internal improvement of even the most necessary kind will be considerably hampered." Though our minds were oppressed by these considerations, we yet came to the conclusion that, in the circumstances of the case and in the larger interests of the Empire we should loyally accept the decision. We all therefore, supported the proposal and it was unanimously accepted by the Council. But when we did so we had been told that that would be India's "ultimate total special contribution" were used in the telegram which, we were told, your Excellency had been pleased to send to the Secretary of State, and it was quoted by the Hon'ble the Finance Member in his Financial Statement.

NO FURTHER FINANCIAL AID POSSIBLE.

Thus my Lord, when that contribution had been made, we had reason to think that we had done with a direct money contribution to the war. Let us see what has happened since to justify our making a further contribution by agreeing to bear a larger share of the cost of the new force raised or to be raised for imperial purposes. No doubt the war has been prolonged. Well, in loyal response to His Majesty's message we have agreed to raise half a million more of men. We have made every effort to do so, and I hope the required number will be raised. That is our further contribution to the war and it is not a small

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contribution. But so far as a further money contribution is concerned, I regret to think that we are not in a position to make it. If the matter had been raised at the Delhi Conference, I am sure there would have been a very clear expression of opinion on it on the part of many of the representatives of the people. Let me assure you, my Lord, that it is not the will to contribute more that is wanting; it is the power. I think my esteemed friend Mr. Gandhi, who lives and works among the people and knows the condition of the country better than most of us, made this quite clear in the letter which he addressed to your Excellency after that Conference. He told you that we would do all we could to supply more men, but that we could not supply more money. We have laboured accordingly to raise recruits and I hope we shall succeed in raising as many as are needed. But I regret that the poverty of the country does not permit of our assenting to a larger money burden being imposed upon the people.

My Lord, we are asked to make a further money contribution to the Imperial expenditure on war by taking upon ourselves the charge of meeting the cost of the new forces raised in this country and to be raised thereafter. It is said that this proposal is subject to three conditions: that our liability to pay the proposed additional charges shall be reconsidered (a) if agricultural conditions should be worse than they are at present; (b) if exchange should be affected adversely; and (c) if the war should come nearer home, and we should have to fight on our own

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account on our front. I respectfully submit that when these three possibilities are before us, it will be the part of wisdom not to undertake any further obligations upon us. But that on the same principles on which it is proposed that in the event of certain new conditions arising, we shall be released from the obligation which we are asked to undertake, in view of the fact that since we agreed to contribute £100 million to England as a war gift, we have raised and are going to raise half a million men in this country, the cost of this additional force should be regarded as a contribution towards the unpaid balance of the £100 million which we have promised.

The Hon'ble the Finance Member has said that it is not enough, in the present crisis, for India to raise large numbers of additional troops if she leaves the entire burden of paying for them upon England. But we are not doing this. We have promised to contribute £100 million to England. We have paid £60 million of this by loan. We have to pay £40 million more. And all that I say is let us pay this balance in the shape of the cost of the additional troops which have been raised or are to be raised in this country. Let us find the cost of the additional troops, but let it be understood that it will be regarded as the unpaid portion of the contribution which we have already agreed to make. It is proposed that this additional cost should be met partly out of the surplus and partly by excess profits tax. I entirely support this proposal. The excess profits tax should have been levied last year. The reasons urged by the Hon'ble the Finance Member for not

levying it then did not satisfy a large section of the public. Nor would the reasons he has urged for further delaying action in that respect satisfy them. They have felt and rightly that when the £100 million gift was promised to England, an excess profits tax should have been levied in order to liquidate the debt as early as practicable. Most certainly let it be done at any rate now. If this is not done, it will take nearly thirty years of high taxation to liquidate the debt of £100 million. This will be a calamity. The Government owe it to the people to see that this debt is liquidated as early as may be practicable so that it may not continue to block all domestic progress. How can this be done except by raising every possible revenue that can legitimately be raised without oppressing the poor ; and what can be a more legitimate source of revenue to liquidate a war loan than an excess war profits tax ?

My Lord, I hope, I have made it clear that I am not opposed to the idea that we should bear the additional charges of the new troops, *i.e.*, we are raising. I say again let us bear them ; but let us represent to His Majesty's Government in England that in view of our entire situation, in view of the large contribution we have already promised, in view of the deplorable poverty of our people, in view of the unfortunate fact that fresh taxes cannot be put upon the people without oppressing them, they should allow the cost of these new troops to be registered as part of our unpaid contribution of £100 million.

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